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P. 698 123

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM

BY THE

REV. M. KAUFMANN, M.A.

AUTHOR OF

"SOCIALISM: ITS NATURE, ITS DANGERS, AND ITS REMEDIES CONSIDERED"

"UTOPIAS; OR, SCHEMES OF SOCIAL IMPROVEMENT FROM SIR THOMAS MORE TO KARL MARX"

"SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM IN THEIR PRACTICAL APPLICATION," ETC.

LONDON

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH & CO., 1, PATERNOSTER SQUARE

1888

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TO E. VANSITTART NEALE, Esq.

DEAR SIR,

I dedicate to you this little volume on Christian Socialism because you are the oldest surviving member of that movement in England, and one who has never ceased from the first to believe and to teach others to believe in the eternal principles of Truth, Hope, and Love in the pursuit of a higher social ideal. One of the original promoters of co-operation, itself the beloved offspring of Christian Socialism, its legal adviser in times when as yet it was unprotected by the law, you have never since ceased to impress upon its members the higher law of Christian love as a paramount force in society.

While others have lost faith in their fellow-men and voluntary effort, you have continued, hoping against hope and with "munificent trustfulness" in principle, to advocate the cause of co-operative union on higher than commercial principles, to accentuate the importance of the moral and religious factors in co-operative industry, and to aspire "after a union ever widening into that all-embracing federation to which the social reformer looks forward."

A soul detached from the common pursuits of sordid gain, and rising far above the level of the fussy and forward, and often frothy and frivolous philanthropy of the hour, you have, with generous Christian devotion and self-denying sacrifices,

kept before the minds of others a lofty standard of social duty, thus inspiring them with your own enthusiasm to maintain and uphold the truths of the social doctrine of Christ, whilst opposing with might and main Mammon-worship and the spread of Materialism among high and low, condemned alike in the law and the Gospel.

I am, Dear Sir,

Ever yours truly,

M. KAUFMANN.

PREFACE.

THE contents of this volume are substantially a reproduction of papers which have already appeared in several periodicals and reviews, such as *Good Words*, the *Contemporary Review*, the *British Quarterly Review*, the *Church Quarterly Review*, and others. The whole was written on a uniform plan and with the express intention of reproducing it in book form, as, indeed, the present volume forms part of a wider plan for placing the various aspects of Socialism and its relation to religion and modern thought before the general reader.

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INTRODUCTION.

SOCIALISM, after a season of comparative quiescence, has of late once more assumed a threatening attitude. It is at this moment producing considerable agitation in several European countries, and has been the subject of diplomatic activity among their governments. Now, every movement which is strong enough to engage public attention will appear in a different light to different individuals and bodies of men according to their personal standpoint or corporate position. This applies more especially to movements affecting the well-being of society, as a whole, inasmuch as they aim at changes in the existing order vitally affecting large classes of men. The Church and the religious world, therefore, may justly regard the socialistic movement of the day from their own standpoint without incurring, or at least without meriting, the charge of "religious bias."

In proportion as the religious interest is to religious persons chief in importance, they will naturally endeavour to guard it with a godly jealousy against adverse influences, real or supposed, arising from political or economic modifications or rearrangements such as are proposed by the would-be improvers of society. If the socialistic movement of the day has not attracted until quite recently to

any great extent the attention of the religious world in this country, it is chiefly owing to the fact that to all outward appearances it has not yet taken root on British soil to the same extent as on the Continent. When, in the more stormy days of 1848, a wave of Socialism passed over England, a body of Christian Socialists immediately arose, with Maurice at their head and Kingsley for their spokesman, who claimed the right of the Church to take up a prominent position in relation to what appeared then a formidable social movement. With the disappearance of Chartism, the Christian Socialist movement, too, collapsed. It must not be supposed, however, that the causes of social discontent have been removed altogether. Far from it. The mass meetings organized by the "Democratic Federation" for purposes of social agitation, attended by thousands of working men; the large sale of Mr. Henry George's now famous work on "Progress and Poverty," in a cheap and popular form; and many other facts and figures we could mention, prove the existence of a widely extended socialistic propaganda in the great centres of British industry, and of late, too, in country districts. It would be the height of imprudence to ignore the fact. For the social problem, supposing it to exist, must be faced sooner or later, as, no doubt, it is capable of a satisfactory solution on Christian principles. A reconciliation of conflicting class differences on the basis of Christian justice and liberality ought, at least, to be attempted. The spread of Christian knowledge and the formation of Christian character among the labouring classes under Church influence would go far towards reconciling them to their present position, whilst at the same time enabling them to improve it by their own exertions. It is well, therefore, not to under-estimate the force and

direction of the movement in question, nor to neglect its study, but to appreciate the intimate connection which exists between Socialism in the best sense of the word and Christian philanthropy.

Such is the line of thought taken up by Christian Socialism. Its main object is to establish the kinship between the genius of Christianity and that "passionate faith in the illimitable possibilities of human progress" which has been variously expressed in the schemes put forward at different times by those social idealists, who now go under the general name of Socialists. But the distinguishing mark of Christian Socialism is its firm faith in the power of Christian ethics to bring about a complete transformation of industrial economy. Hence its main efforts are directed towards bringing about a reconciliation of classes with the fuller development of the passive virtues of Christianity, and with it ultimately a regeneration of society as the result of a previous improvement in the individual. From the growth of the active virtues of Christianity among all, it expects important social reforms, founded on Christian principle; and these are to remove the causes of social discontent, and so bring about social peace; in short, Christian Socialism works by means of spiritual *dynamics*, or religious influence, whereas Socialism proper (at least, in its most recent forms) aims at a *mechanical* reconstruction, or governmental regulation, of society on purely materialistic principles. Yet, notwithstanding their essential differences, both have much in common, and are frequently met in company in the historical development of European society.

Thus from the very first, when Christianity appeared in a corner of the Roman Empire, the constitution of the Church presented a new "type of social union," that of a

"brotherhood founded in devotion and self-sacrifice," to replace the ancient system of oppression and slavery, promising to effect a complete change in society. Passages from the Fathers, such as those quoted by the Socialist Villegardelle, and expressions to be found here and there in the works of Thomas Aquinas, the general tenor of the canon law, and the history of ecclesiastical politics from the fourth to the fourteenth century, all bear witness to the spirit of genuine sympathy with God's poor in the Christian Church. Moreover, it is interesting to note the recurrence of religious revivals side by side with the revivals of social ideals during marked epochs of history, *e.g.* the contemporaneous struggles for freedom both in the Church and the world during the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the same way, great social movements in their turn have awakened the sympathies and quickened the life of religious bodies: witness the humanitarian influence of the French Revolution on the social tendencies of the Methodist revival. So, too, in the present day, the universal diffusion of socialistic ideas is accompanied by various manifestations of Christian Socialism in the principal countries of civilized Europe. As the eye travels over the map, different countries at once call up before the mind figures of prominent Christian Socialists in every direction. The Scandinavian North suggests the venerable figure of the late Bishop of Zealand, and his work on "Socialism and Christianity, as a Fragment of Christian Ethics." Italy reminds us of the social studies of Rafaele Mariano in his work on "Christian Catholicism and Culture." France, the most prolific country in the production of every species of modern Socialism, also suggests a long series of eminent Christian Socialists, from De Maistre to le Comte de Mun, from Lamennais to Le Play. Belgium,

in the West, points to Charles Périn and Emile de Laveleye. Austria, in the East, to Baron von Vogelsang; Germany, the classical country of scientific Socialism, has also its two branches of Christian Socialism. The elder branch is represented by prelates and dignitaries of the Roman Catholic communion, by an ably conducted social press, and latterly by historical and economic literature, in which the writers, such as Ratzinger, Hitze, and Albertus (the latter is a *nom de plume*), take for their basis the teaching of the Catholic Church. The younger branch is represented by distinguished laymen, such as Privy Councillor Wagener (now retired), and the Berlin Professor of Political Economy, A. Wagner, as well as by Churchmen of learning and rank, such as R. Todt and the Court Chaplain Stöcker. In short, there never was a time when Christian Socialism was so widely spread and so powerfully represented in the press, in politics, and in society, as in the present day. It demands, therefore, our respectful attention, more especially when taken in connection with the great social crisis which has produced it.

Moreover, a careful examination of the various efforts of Christian Socialism, described in this book, are an answer to the false aspersions so frequently cast upon the Church, of persistently neglecting her duty towards God's poor, and her unwillingness, or incapacity, to consider the claims of the working classes with a view to ameliorate their social condition. It will be seen, too, from these efforts on the part of Christian Socialists, that there are points of contact and lines of demarcation in the mutual relationship of Socialism and Christianity, the study of which will prove of invaluable service to all those who believe in the mission of Christianity to reform and regenerate society.

In this, it appears to us, consists the chief merit of Christian Socialism. Its own history, as well as that of all great social movements, has shown that such points of contact do exist, and on this all reflecting men are pretty well agreed. Religion is a great social force in moving the human heart in its deepest depths, and, as such, capable of inspiring the "enthusiasm of humanity," which is the very soul of all social reforms. Religion also becomes a controlling power in correcting and moderating the course of such movements inspired by enthusiasm, and therefore liable to lead to erroneous excesses unless kept in check by a higher regulating power. Again, religion is the binding force which alone is able to prevent the threatened disintegration of our modern society. Our present forms of industry produce a diversity of interests which result in a conflict of classes. The hope of society lies in the unifying power of the religion of Him who said, "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, *will draw all men unto Me.*"

If there are, then, points of contact between Socialism and Christianity, implied in the very term Christian Socialism, there are also essential differences which a careful study of the subject brings to light. Christianity endeavours to work from within; Socialism from without. The former would, if possible, persuade; the latter is ready to compel man to treat his neighbour as himself. Religion would make the love of Christ the spring of human effort; Socialism makes the force of central authority the lever of social action. Religion aims at building up the social edifice on the model of the Christian household; Socialism is destructive in its tendencies to organize society on the principle of Rousseau's social contract. Religion aims at improving first the individual, and thus eventually hopes to purify society; Socialism,

on the contrary, demands radical changes in society to increase the sum of happiness in each individual. Socialism requires the use of the legal strait-jacket to enforce comparative equality ; religion prefers the constraining influence of Christ to draw together the members of the Christian brotherhood.

To put it briefly, the contrast between the theories and methods adopted by Socialism and Christianity may be thus stated : The former applies force externally, the latter internally ; the former works by mechanical means, the latter by means of spiritual dynamics ; the former is destructive, the latter constructive ; the former is revolutionary, the latter is reformatory ; the former adopts the authoritative, the latter the voluntary, principle of action in the endeavour of establishing a perfect commonwealth. Where principles are thus divergent, and the practical methods of dealing with an all-important question differ so widely, we cannot expect to find much sympathy or look for much co-operative effort, though there may be common objects in view. Hence, to all intents and purposes, we see religious philanthropists and Socialist reformers in a chronic state of practical antagonism, watching one another with suspicion, and often resorting to unfair mutual criticism. There are laudable exceptions here and there ; but, generally speaking, the anti-Christian scorn of religion expressed by Socialists so freely and so unreasonably, is too often matched by inconsiderate vehemence and intolerance on the other side. Too often, efforts towards social reforms are denounced as revolutionary in their nature ; and this want of discrimination in the would-be defenders of the established order becomes the occasion of fervid re-priminations on the part of its assailants. The progress of social improvement is thus retarded by the friction

of mutual dislike and distrust. Studies like the one before us are apt to soften mutual asperities, to remove misconceptions, and to prevent future misrepresentations; they tend to unite all moderate thinkers in one common effort for raising humanity to a higher level. What has been accomplished by such efforts in the past does not forbid us to look forward with hope to the future, when Christian charity shall have triumphed over the selfish propensities of mankind, when the direct and indirect influences of Christian morality shall have permeated all classes, when the attempts of the Church to reunite the antagonistic elements of society shall have succeeded in putting an end to the internecine warfare between capital and labour which still presents one of the most formidable obstacles to the progress of true religion in the civilized world.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.

CHAPTER I.

THE THEORY OF CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.

No attempt will be made in this chapter to offer anything like a new theory of Christian Socialism. Our intention is simply to collect into one point of view the main principles underlying the various efforts made from time to time for the purpose of obviating social discrepancies, or adjusting existing social arrangements on a distinctly Christian basis. Such an abstract of the leading ideas of Christian Socialism, illustrated by modern examples of Christian Socialism at home and abroad, without pretending to be a strictly scientific theory, may yet at the same time present a tolerably accurate view of the general tendencies of Christian Socialism; and, as such, may stimulate inquiry and quicken interest in the religious aspect of a movement of undoubted European notoriety. We use the word "theory" in its primitive signification of—*θεωρία, viewing*; not in the sense in which the late Professor Jevons calls his treatise "The Theory of Political Economy," but rather in the sense in which a celebrated living German economist, Von

Scheel, calls his own valuable contribution to the study of modern socialism—"The Theory of the Social Question." This will enable us to touch upon some of the most conspicuous methods which have been of late suggested for the adaptation of the theory (which, making allowance for historical development and expansion, may be said to be conterminous with Christianity and coeval with the Christian Church) to the needs of the age. Both the importance recently assumed by Socialism and the atheistic proclivities of its principal exponents render such an inquiry desirable, if not imperative. To bring the two facts into juxtaposition, we may quote, in the first place, from the January number (1884) of *To-Day*, which is the accredited organ of Scientific Socialism in England, the following remarkable passage, closing a general survey of the "Revolution of To-day."

"In five years we reach the date of 1889. Two hundred years before saw the middle-class monarchical revolution of 1689 in England; a century later came the first outbreak of the French Revolution of 1789. That year 1889 will be celebrated by the workers in every industrial city throughout the civilized world as the time for a new and strenuous effort . . . to conquer for the mass of mankind complete control over steam, electricity, and the other forces of nature, which the progress of science is placing at the command of the race. The development of these forces, and the influence which they exert on the peoples of the world constitute the real revolution of To-day. It is for us to take full account of their action, to educate our countrymen around us to a knowledge of their growth, and to organize, without rest and without haste, that certain victory of the people which shall be the revolution of To-morrow."

We might give pages of extracts from the Socialist papers of the Continent, all joyously re-echoing this

sentiment of eager hopefulness and undoubting faith in the speedy triumph of Social Democracy. In fact, the progress of the movement in this country is hailed everywhere as the harbinger of a new era; for England, being regarded as the citadel of capitalism, the victory of Socialism, it is thought, cannot be far off when the most powerful stronghold of individualism begins to show signs of yielding.

The same number of *To-Day* contains another article under the title of "Christianity and Capitalism"—"the two curses of our time"—in which we are clearly given to understand that the extinction of the one necessitates the disappearance of the other; and that although "socialism has nothing to do with religion or irreligion," yet in a socialist state a monopoly of creed can no more be tolerated than a monopoly in land. In this curious conjunction of Scientific Socialism and fervid atheism, we see a complete change of front in the tactics of the revolutionary party. The New Testament is no longer appealed to as the text-book of democracy, and Christ is no longer hailed as the "*bon sans culotte*," or true friend of the people, which was the fashion in times gone by. On the contrary, we are told that "the cross, once a symbol of suffering, is now a symbol of slavery." Thus the most outspoken champions of the Socialist movement are bitterly opposed to the Christian faith (which, in their opinion, keeps the masses in bondage), whilst the efforts of Christian Socialism are denounced by them as a religious move dictated by sinister motives. In view of this change in the mutual relations of Socialism proper and Christianity, it becomes a serious question whether it is possible to establish any theory whatever of Christian Socialism; and the first step taken by its representatives now is to make good its right for existence.

Thus Le Play, at once one of the most noble-minded and the most tolerant of Christian Socialists, says somewhere that the general complexion of European thought leaves no room for doubt that religion (and by this he means Christianity) remains the first requisite of humanity, and that nations living under a liberal *régime* like ours must be brought back to it, not only by Divine grace, but also from a desire of their own well-being. There can be but little doubt of the existence of this general wish in the present day. A large body of thinking men watch with alarm the threatened collision between the forces of Individualism and Socialism, and, without pretending to be thorough-going advocates or antagonists of the one or the other, they feel the need of a stronger spiritual force to control both in such a manner as to avert the impending social war. They naturally turn to Christianity as the parent of a moderate Individualism; for Christianity first secured to each unit of the ancient society its personal freedom, and the Christian idea of society is that of an aggregate of responsible individuals. They also turn to the same spiritual system for the power of repressing the excesses of Individualism by its no less accentuated enforcement of social duty as opposed to selfish isolation, since the doctrine of European Altruism is one of the noblest offshoots of Christianity.

Again, one of the peculiar characteristics of modern Socialists is their unblushing confession of purely materialistic views of life. This inspires both philosophers and economists with fear for the maintenance of our modern culture in view of the threatened incursion of these "Huns and Vandals of the Europe of the future." But Christianity is a spiritual system, and, as such, emphatically teaching ideal views of life. As of old it was said of Christianity, in its relation to the rude

invaders of Europe, that it conquered the conquerors ; so, according to our theory, the heroes of the faith are again to become the saviours of society. A temporary divergence, if not divorce, between faith and reason has brought about that anti-theological bias of which Herbert Spencer speaks as the serious cause of modern misapprehensions of theology and mistakes in sociology. It may send the extreme section of Socialistic Radicalism into the dead sea of atheism ; but the bulk of the party, that is the main body of the working population influenced by socialistic ideas, will not finally break with earlier traditions ; whilst the more thoughtful leaders among them will remember that nothing but a powerful spiritual principle, which takes hold of the entire man, is capable of producing a thorough revolution, politically, socially, and morally, such as the realization of the social ideal implies, and that Christianity contains the principle in question.

Still, not a few who see in this a *raison d'être* for Christian Socialism in the abstract, have their doubts as to the possibility of working it out practically with the available materials and instruments. Christian ministers, especially of the Established Church, it is said, have allowed themselves to be degraded into a branch of the civil service. They are now a "spiritual police," paid for preaching contentment to empty stomachs, and administering "spiritual narcotics" to restless spirits who would otherwise turn the world upside down. Hence the alienation of the masses and the scornful contempt of religion in their leaders. Let the "Black Dragoons," they say, be disbanded ; and let the priests of humanity assume their spiritual functions.*

* See "Saul of Mitre Court," by J. W. Overton, p. 38, and *passim*. In France, and of late in England, Positivism has made great, and in some

In answer to such charges, Christian Socialists admit that much of the alienation of the working classes from the Christian Church is owing to the unfriendly attitude of religious officialism, which is too apt to assume the rôle of protecting property and privilege, whilst showing little sympathy with popular demands. But, they add, such an attitude is contrary to, rather than consonant with, the spirit of that gospel which, in its original publication, was the "good news" to the poor. They are at pains to show that the general tendency of Christianity in the social development of modern Europe has been in favour of checking inequality. If, in addition to this, it can be also shown that at this very moment the representatives of the Christian Church throughout civilized Europe are calling attention to the great social crisis of the hour, whilst methods for solving the social problem are being discussed in every ecclesiastical assembly and the organs of every religious organization, small or great, it must follow that whatever may be said against distorted forms of religion and a wrong application of Christian principles here and there, such charges are untrue when preferred against the social theory of the Christianity of Christ, and unjust as criticisms on the social influence of the Christian Church generally; that they are invalid as arguments against its potential efficacy in the adjustment of present difficulties or the possible rearrangements of social order in the future.

Thus much as to what may be called the apologetics Christian Socialism. We may now pass on to a consideration of successful efforts towards gaining the masses by means of sympathetic attention to popular demands. But it is a curious and not encouraging sign of the times, indicating the direction of the stream of thought, that at the last Socialist Congress in Paris, held in Sept. 1887, the conciliatory proposals of the Positivist delegates were rudely swept aside by the majority.

ration of the theory itself. Regarding religion as one of the fundamental facts which govern the conditions of mankind, and without which any philosophical explanation of social phenomena would be incomplete, it endeavours, in the first place, to estimate the real value of Christianity as a spiritual force in society, and its relative importance in the composition of social forces, with their resultant. In the next place, the theory, as an exposition of principles in dealing with certain facts and phenomena, addresses itself to the solution of the social problem, which is a problem of social statics if we consider society in a state of disturbed equilibrium, and a problem of social dynamics if we consider any particular section of society in a state of retarded development.

As a spiritual force in society, Christianity is a powerful tendency in the direction of social peace; for it tends to cultivate that temper of mind which is essentially necessary for composing social differences resulting from the irritating influences of a restless state of society, and evolves in its disciples that power of patient waiting which comes from intensity of belief in a social Providence. In a most interesting passage of "Progress and Poverty," the author points out how the apparent incurableness of the social disease, as diagnosed by the professors of the "dismal science," is the main cause of growing disbelief in the present day; for, according to the current dogmas of political economists, the miseries of mankind are ascribed to natural and unalterable laws. But, according to our theory, the moral laws of a Christian society come in to modify the rigour of these supposed laws of nature, and belief in this will help men to bear the ills of life with patience. Socialists would substitute trust in the power of communistic authorities for an antiquated belief in a social Providence. But faith in

principles is stronger than belief in persons; and Christian Socialism, mindful of this, relies, therefore, on the revival of a strong belief in the Divine ordering of society to save it from pessimistic hopelessness. "What science cannot prove," says one of the most able of modern economists, Schäffle (who may be also called a Christian Socialist, though in a modified sense), "faith may accept, namely, that the whole mechanism of the unconscious powers of nature is ultimately destined to subserve the realization of the only real, *i.e.* the *moral good*, that by the diffusion of moral force matter will become more and more spiritualized and morally organized. *In every direction the political economist is pressed into an acceptance of this faith.*" In other words, as the belief that all social inequalities and incongruities are the result of the niggardliness of nature and nature's inexorable laws must end in a despairing fatalism, so, on the other hand, faith in social development on a Divine plan will inspire cheerful hopefulness in the future of society.

In opposition to another article of belief in orthodox economics, the theory of the "survival of the fittest" in the competition struggle, Christian Socialism relies on the law of love to counteract and control the cold calculations of self-interest. Self-assertion and self-seeking form the ruling principle of the former; self-effacement and self-denial are the fundamental principles of the latter. The one leads to social disintegration, the other to social union; the former makes for war, the latter for peace. Selfishness repels, love attracts. These are social forces acting in contrary directions. The religion of unqualified altruism comes to correct the opposite excesses of unqualified egoism, and "perhaps social stability may ultimately be seen to depend upon the due balance of

these forces." * The "perhaps" of the sociologist becomes a certainty with the Christian Socialist, and he appeals to the concrete examples of social establishments, such as those of the Pilgrim Fathers, the Moravian Brethren, and communistic religious societies on the North American continent, in proof of this social doctrine, as an integral part of his theory.

Again, the spirit of self-restraint, as opposed to the spirit of self-indulgence, is a most important factor in the peaceful solution of the social problem. A return to simple forms of life is the fundamental idea of all social Utopias; luxurious self-indulgence of the few at the expense of the many is banished from every such representation of an ideal society. But the motive power which prevents men wasting their substance, be it among rich or poor, and induces them to exercise frugal abstinence for the general good, comes from a religious sense of duty which makes self-denial the rule of life. Some years ago Mr. W. R. Greg, in an article on "The Proletariat on a False Scent," endeavoured to show that the expenditure of the working classes in drinking and smoking is not far from sixty millions per annum, of which forty millions is extravagance and excess. No one can dispute the facts, he adds, and the inference is that the fate and future of the working classes, their salvation or their ruin, lies in their own hands. But, we ask, what is to steel the courage and to sustain the resolution of men, who live from hand to mouth on subsistence wages, thus by frugal abstinence to add to their savings, whilst their "betters" are steeped in gross materialism? "Every one according to his requirements," is the Socialist cry of the day. Christianity, with its

* Herbert Spencer, "Sociology," chap. viii., and "Social Statics," chap. v. § 2.

lessons of self-restraint, circumscribes desire and puts limits to human greed; and without its influence social pressure would soon become unbearable.

Further, Christianity, as the religion of suffering, in its precepts of humility and lessons of calm resignation, is opposed to class pride and to the rancour of class antagonism.

"It is quite true," says a living English Christian Socialist of some eminence, "that the gospel preaches submission and meekness; but it is a ridiculous error to suppose that its meaning is to enjoin the poor to be meek and submissive towards the rich. Those whom the gospel would specially have humble and meek are the rich and great and strong. 'All of you be subject one to another,' says the gospel; and which needs to have this witness sounded in his ears most loudly—the depressed and helpless labourer, or the proud lord of thousands of acres; the struggling peasant woman, or the idle lady of fashion? We ought to be ashamed to give one commendation of humility to the poor which we do not repeat ten times to the rich. 'Let the brother of low degree rejoice in that he is exalted, but the rich in that he is made low.'"

Yet the precept of the gospel quoted above, "Be ye subject one to another," addressed to rich and poor alike, is calculated at least to lessen the strain of social tension, to discourage mutual recrimination and reprisals in the conflicts between capital and labour, and ultimately to bring about a better understanding between the employer and the employed, the wealthier and more needy members of the community.

We now go on to consider Christianity as a force in social dynamics, able to raise man, and especially the working man, in forming character and habits which are the essential pre-requisites of social progress. That

in spite of our boasted civilization the large body of operatives in town and country are in a condition of lamentably retarded advancement, materially and morally, is a fact which at this moment is engaging the serious attention of all thinking, and even unthinking people, who follow the fashion of those who think for them. There is increasing restiveness among the masses, and increased activity among the reformers of "social maladjustments." But it is one thing to vent social grievances and to air social problems; it is another thing to discover the right remedies and methods of social readjustment. We are told that the social problem may be solved by removing the artificial hindrances which now prevent a more equitable distribution of national wealth. But beyond this there is the deeper question of removing the mental and moral disabilities which form the main obstacles of social improvement in the future, as they have proved to be the main causes of deterioration in the social condition of the labourers in times past. What they need, as was well said a few years ago at a gathering of Socialists at the grave of Karl Marx celebrating the anniversary of his death, is, "Solidarity, energy, and self-sacrifice." These imply high moral qualifications.

The Socialist demand—"From each according to his abilities; to each according to his wants"—implies, furthermore, a clear mental perception on the part of the labourers as to their rights and responsibilities such as is rarely possessed. It requires a moral and intellectual training which only a powerful religious institution in full sympathy with the masses can supply. The Christian system can do this. The New Testament is the *magna charta* of the rights of labour, and raises the duty of the labourer to a higher dignity. In opposition to pure Utilitarianism, which degrades labour into an

economic commodity, Christianity raises the workman into the position of an ethical person, with corresponding claims upon and duties towards the rest of the community. Professor Ingram, in his able address on work and the workman before the Trades' Union Congress in Dublin a few years ago, struck the right key-note when he said: "The real solution of this problem, as of the general social problem which includes it, can be effected only by such a reorganization of ideas and renovation of sentiments as will rise to the dimensions of an *intellectual* and *moral* reform." But the most powerful lever for this moral elevation is the spiritual force in Christianity; and the more the masses are brought under the influence of Christian culture, the nearer will be their approach to that high conception of the "workman as a social functionary," and of labour as the "combined effort of our race for the improvement of its condition and its nature," which is the moral and mental pre-requisite for effecting lasting material improvements in the labouring population.

The same religious system supplies, too, a sufficiently powerful stimulus to diligence and heightened productivity, and also that mental and moral discipline which gives greater effectiveness to such increased expenditure of energy. "To every one according to his work," is a demand of Socialism which finds its moral sanction in the Christian system, but the latter takes note likewise of the converse duty, "Work from every one according to his power;" and this dutifulness of persistent labour for the common good is enforced by the highest authority, and illustrated by the exalted example of Him who says, "My Father worketh even until now, and I work." As a disciplinary force the Christian religion tends to subdue the whole category

of those "unruly wills and affections of sinful men" which lead to social anarchy; for in teaching men to regard life as a provisional state in which they are being trained for a higher existence, it curbs those selfish propensities which are in their nature anti-social.

"No religion," says Raffaele Mariano, an Italian Christian Socialist, "corresponds more to humane and social ideas than the Christian . . . the just demands of Socialism are included in the principles of Christianity. Most assuredly these principles must not be allowed to remain a dead letter or pure abstractions. In themselves they are the most powerful promoters of liberty, fraternity, and the most equitable distribution of earthly goods. In this sense, too, it is the destination of the Christian ideal to confer great services on humanity, for it supplies the most powerful stimulus in the rich to overcome egotism and epicureanism, and in the poor to conquer brutality and atheism." *

The character of the aggregate, we know, is determined by the character of the units; but one of the obstacles in this formation of character among the people, we are told, is the habitual disregard to their just claim on the part of the ruling classes. Justice, which Lamennais calls the bread of the people, has been for a long time withheld, and is only now being dealt out in a somewhat meagre way by the people's patrons. But this "nicer sense of justice," which is essential to the success of the higher type of industrial organization, finds its full recognition in the equitable maxim of reciprocal duties contained in the words, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them." Here we have the rights of labour

* See also Roscher, "Grundlagen der National Oekonomie," vol. i. chap. i. § 11. Le Play, "Reforme Sociale," vol. i. chap. ix. p. 137, and *ante*.

and capital alike fully recognized. If, indeed, the sacred right of property be acknowledged by securing to each the reward of his exertions, then this Christian precept vindicates the rights of labour and capital according to the motto *Summ cuique*, or, to use the words of M. de Laveleye—

“If the doctrine of Christ has transformed the world, and if it still continue to influence it more and more as it gains greater sway, it is because it places before humanity a higher ideal of right and justice. Do you advocate a more perfect organization of property? Prove that this organization will be more favourable to the general welfare, and more in conformity with justice.”*

Such is the theory of the potential influences of Christianity as a spiritual force in society. But we cannot nowadays separate it as an intangible, incommensurable force from its visible embodiment, the Christian Church (using this term in its widest extension), as the exponent of the Christian idea. The theory of Christian Socialism, therefore, proceeds in the next place to define first the functions of the Christian Church as one of the “regulating forces” in the social organism, modifying and controlling other component forces of social life under normal conditions, and also its functions under the peculiar circumstances of the present pathological condition of society. With regard to the first, it would be impossible, as it would, indeed, be superfluous, to expatiate at large on the modifying and moderating influences of the Church in our highly complex state of society. For the present purpose it is sufficient to mention its principal function in the present day, which consists in softening the selfishness and relaxing the

* *Contemporary Review*, November, 1882, p. 788; cf. H. George, “Social Problems,” p. 276.

severity of the competition struggle by the counteracting influence of Christian sympathy, and thus supplying a bond of union strong enough to counteract the dissipating and disintegrating forces of Individualism. This truth is symbolized by the fact that Adam Smith, the supposed prophet of the selfish system, supplements in his own "Theory of the Moral Sentiments" the social theory contained in the "Wealth of Nations;" for in the former he makes sympathy the prime motor of human conduct, whilst in the latter the self-regarding motives are put forward prominently as the chief promoters of industry. The same principle has been quite recently re-stated by Charles Périn, one of the oldest as well as one of the ablest of Christian Socialist theorists, in many eloquent passages of his numerous writings, of which the following is a specimen:—

"Catholic charity," he says, "has more than once confronted the difficulties which would appear to be insurmountable regarded merely from the human point of view. Was it not Catholic charity which, in the midst of savage passions and the unpunished oppressions of the tenth century, knew how to organize the truce of God? Was it, not she which prepared, in the religious associations of working men grouped round their spiritual protectors, those great corporative institutions which gave to the artisan class under the economic conditions of those times centuries of security, well-being, and ever-increasing freedom? Nowadays we are in the presence of passions and oppressions of another kind. More refined forms of covetousness peculiar to our modern civilization have succeeded the impetuous instincts of younger and less reflecting races; but the old human nature remains the same, and the war of passions among high and low, freed from all religious restraints, is threatening a worse barbarism than that over which the Church triumphed at the commencement of our modern civilization."

Under abnormal conditions the functions of the Church, considered in its external relation to the world rather than as part of a self-regulating social organism, consists in suggesting remedial measures for the salvation of Society. According to the theory now under consideration, the three elementary R's of Social Therapeutics, are—Reconciliation of Social antagonisms; Social Reforms to avert a Social Revolution; and the Regeneration of Society through the operation of Christian principle, as "the salt of the earth" which is to save it from social putrefaction. Thus, whilst the advocates of the "kill or cure" principle of the *laissez-faire* school would leave social re-adjustments to the *Medicatrix Natura*, Christian Socialists rely on the supernatural power of the Divine Physician to heal the sores of humanity.

We have alluded already to the force of Christianity as a tendency towards social peace; but in order to a peaceful solution of the social problem, it is not enough to leave the settlement of the question to the slow working out of such spiritual tendencies. The Christian Church has a mediatorial office to perform. Taking for her guidance the conduct of the Master on a notable occasion, she may well show unwillingness or acknowledge her incompetence to arbitrate in quarrels about possessions, and to adjudicate in matters of dispute between labour and capital. Besides, meddlesome interference on the part of "ecclesiastical persons" would soon be resented on the part of the combatants. Still, there are opportunities for timely intervention, when there is danger of the weak being crushed by the stronger, or when one of the disputants sues for peace whilst the other is unwilling to make fair concessions, and when, therefore, the friendly aid of a disinterested

umpire is needed. Nor is there cause for the ministers of reconciliation to be intimidated if, in the din of social wars, the voice of the Church is sometimes drowned, and efforts at pacification are met with an angry rebuff, such as was addressed to the great Lawgiver engaged in a similar attempt to compose social differences by reminding the disputants of the closeness of their mutual relationship: "Men, ye are brethren!" As the influence of the Church, notwithstanding its pacific tendencies, has not hitherto been strong enough to usher in the era of universal peace, though it has been instrumental in mitigating the horrors and lessening the frequency of social wars among Christian nations, so in assuming the office of peacemaker it cannot be expected to succeed in bringing about the immediate reconciliation of conflicting class interests. Yet, as in France during the dark ages the bishops and clergy promoted social peace by the "truce of God;" as in England during the thirteenth century the parochial clergy acted as the peacemakers at the Manorial Courts which settled all class disputes,*

* "A la féodalité, l'église imagina d'opposer une puissance nouvelle qui devait avoir de si grandes destinées: le peuple, l'association populaire.

"Dès lors, en effet, au moyen de la prédication, le clergé organise, contre la puissance seigneuriale, une *agitation pacifique*, prélude de l'agitation guerrière, qui se traduit par un nombre considérable de conciles provinciaux."

Edmond Demolins, "Le Mouvement Communal et Municipal au Moyen-Age," p. 41.

James E. Thorold Rogers, "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," vol. i. p. 21; and on influence of the Church generally, *ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 359, *et seq.*, specially p. 362, where he speaks of the religious orders and the heads of monastic establishments as "advocates of generous dealing towards the peasantry."

It will be readily remembered that such efforts at conciliation have been tried, and upon the whole have been successful, at least sufficiently so to encourage similar attempts in the future. We need only mention the efforts of Canon Girdlestone and the late Bishop of Manchester.

and thus mitigated and minimized social friction in a less developed state of society ; so now there is ample room for the exercise of this mediatorial function as a branch of practical Christianity.

We have spoken of the tendency of Christianity to form character, and thus by means of a moral reformation in the individual to bring about social readjustment. Here, again, the let-alone theory of religious optimists, relying on this tendency to re-establish social harmony, finds its correction or complement in the more comprehensive theory of Christian Socialism ; which, while it, too, relies on this spiritual lever for raising the standard of social morality, recognizes at the same time the imperative necessity of immediate social reforms. Whilst fully believing in the recuperative power of Christian society, it would at the same time have recourse to restoratives or sedatives, according to the exhausted or excited condition of the patient, so as to prevent coma or a serious crisis, in the social malady of the hour. To drop metaphor, Christian Socialism starts from the conviction that the state of the body-politic requires strong remedial measures. The natural course of things tends, according to Karl Marx and his followers, to a social revolution. Social revolutions, he cynically adds, are the best midwives to assist in the birth of new social eras. The abnormal concentration of capital and land in a very few hands is rapidly increasing. As the number of those who possess monopoly in either decreases, so the number of proletarians, who have nothing to lose and everything to gain from a social revolution, multiplies in corresponding ratio. Thus the gulf between the few millionaires and the moneyless masses of mankind is being widened daily. At the same time in the centres of industry where large bodies of men work in

concert and learn to think and act together, as a class, the latter are being organized. Their education in the workshops of the world will soon be finished, and then the day of retribution will come. The expropriators will be expropriated; the spoilers will be despoiled by those who have been dispossessed; the capitalist class as such will be wiped out of existence. Less time will be required for the many to dethrone the few, than it took for the dwindling class of usurpers to subject the many. The "captains of industry" can be discharged in a comparatively short time. It required centuries to develop capitalism; as many days will almost suffice for the devolution of property to its rightful owners, the disinherited classes.

The march of events, thus sketched with truculent force by Socialists, may, according to the Christian Socialist theory, be stopped effectually, or at least a direction leading to less disastrous results may be given to the current of social development, by timely reforms. Christianity points to former epochs in the history of society when a similar antithesis of excessive wealth and poverty threatened, as it does now social disruption, and shows how it was averted, as it might now be averted, by reformatory efforts from within, which Christian effort initiated. Hence in Germany, where Socialism at present is no longer a theory but a power, Christian Socialists have seen the necessity of opposing it by another power, the "Inner Mission," which consists of a number of social reformatory institutions. In France, where Socialism is, or is supposed to be, the outcome of a demoralized state of society, a group of associations, called "l'Œuvre des Cercles Catholiques d'Ouvriers," has been formed for the preservation of society by a revival of Christian ethics, on the principle

that "la société ne vit que par la vertu ; le vice quelque'il soit, est toujours antisocial." In this way the theory of Christian Socialism points to a twofold function in the Church as a reformer of society ; namely, by its indirect influences effecting a moral reformation of social units, and by directly promoting social reforms for the benefit of the less favoured members of the Christian community. The former may be illustrated by the following quotation from a resolution passed at the Church Congress, or conference of the German clergy, at Meissen in 1878 :—

"Without a moral renovation in every section of society, it would be vain to expect any real improvement in its present unhappy condition. There is cause, therefore, for congratulation in the fact that the founders of the Christian Social Labour party endeavour to oppose Materialism and Atheism as the sources of the most serious social evils among the people, and to direct attention to Christianity as the surest means for their removal."

The latter finds its illustration in the repeated efforts of the Imperial Government of Germany to give effect to the theory in the region of practical politics, so as—to use the words of Prince Bismarck in his speech during the debate on the Socialist laws—"to ameliorate or entirely remove the real grievances and hardships in their lot which form the just cause of complaint on the part of the labourers, as far as a *Christianly disposed commonwealth* can accomplish this task."

"The performance of this duty towards the working classes," says the imperial message, referring to repeated attempts at raising the economic and social condition of the labourers by organic laws, will make them "fully conscious of the blessings of a peaceful development throughout the United Fatherland, so as to deprive of their support the

revolutionary elements whose aim is the subversion of the existing order, human and divine, and so to pave the way for the abolition of existing exceptional laws."

One of these measures of social reform was the Accident Insurance Bill, passed soon afterwards in the Imperial Diet.

But in order to a complete reformation of society the theory of Christian Socialism also presupposes a regenerative principle, the infusion of a new spiritual influence which would not only inspire reformatory effort, but would also produce social effects by re-casting social relations, in the same way as the working of the new leaven of the gospel entirely changed the face of society in the Roman Empire.

The Reformation of the sixteenth century, though in its outward manifestations simply a movement for the purpose of reforming the character of the clergy and re-organizing the ecclesiastical system, was in reality a regenerative process in society through the spirit of Christian liberty, and as such was instrumental in bringing about the emancipation of European society from spiritual thralldom and feudal subjection: so, according to our theory, the social reformation of the future is to be effected by the regenerative influence of the spirit of Christian equality as a new force or form of social crystallization.

"Lorsque vous aurez réussi à donner pour fondement à l'organisation politique *l'égalité chrétienne* des droits, la *régénération*, voulu de vous et que Dieu vous commande de vouloir, s'accomplira de soi-même, dans ses trois branches inséparables, l'ordre matériel, l'ordre intellectuel, et l'ordre moral." *

Social reformers have failed to see this at times,

* Lamennais, "Le Livre du Peuple," xv.

hence so many proposals of reforms good in themselves, but inadequate for the final settlement of the social question. The restoration of healthy family life, the revival of trade-corporations adapted to modern needs, legislative acts of just redistribution, and the removal of remaining restraints upon civil and religious freedom, are insufficient for this purpose. The social problem resolves itself into a question of "moral physiology," and the creation of a "new moral world." As psychical derangements often prove the main cause of physical disorders, so the radical cure of society is to be effected by a new spiritual force working from within.

"We have made, and still are making, enormous advances on material lines. It is necessary that we advance commensurably on moral lines. Civilization, as it advances, *requires* a higher conscience, a keener sense of justice, a warmer brotherhood, a wider, loftier, truer public spirit." *

Partial reforms externally applied, so far from permanently removing social disaffection, often only strengthen the position of the discontented without removing causes of complaint. For this reason the official organs of social democracy are now constantly recommending their readers no longer to oppose social reforms, but to accept them as instalments, and *as a means for strengthening their position as a revolutionary party*. From this it is plain that palliatives of this kind, however useful as partial remedies of the social malady, are very far from curing it altogether, and are prompted by a very imperfect apprehension of the whole question, which is no less than the question of transforming society into a perfect Commonwealth on a Christian model. But how?

* Henry George, "Social Problems," . 317.

"Men's capacities," we are told by Mr. Mallock, a would-be Conservative social reformer, "are practically unequal, simply because they develop their own potential inequalities; they only develop their potential inequalities because they desire to place themselves in unequal external circumstances; and this desire has this effect on them only because the condition of society is such that the unequal circumstances are attainable." *

But is there no escape out of this vicious circle? and is the Social Problem solved by putting it thus neatly in the form of a logical Sorites. Is there no possible remedy for this inequality which ever perpetuates itself in a seething, inchoate mass of human beings, "each for himself" fighting life's battle? According to the theory of Christian Socialism, this social anarchy may be reduced to order if natural inequalities are used for the common good and not for private advantage; if, guided and governed by a higher sense of mutual obligation, he who has received from God more strength and intelligence feels that he owes more to his fellow-men in proportion; that it is the duty of the highly gifted to render more distinguished services to humanity; that "what must be aimed at by those possessed of superior aptitudes is not so much the inequality of rights as the inequality of duty."

The practical application of this principle is no doubt surrounded by innumerable difficulties. But the force of moral law is not weakened by the existence of natural or artificial obstacles in the way of its fulfilment. The principles of navigation are not impaired by the possibility of storms which render it difficult to steer by them a vessel in its proper course; nor does the existence of a

* W. H. Mallock, "Social Equality: a Short Study in a Missing Science," pp. 96, 97.

mutinous crew on board upset the theories of maritime law. Any given theory of cyclones may be right, without making things easy for the man at the helm. Increased difficulties only demand greater skill in the navigator, and superior governing power in the sailing-master, so as to adapt wisely means to the end, according to the fixed rules of his craft. This, too, is true of Statecraft, and of "priestcraft and progress," in conducting the vessel of the State safely into port. The Christian Church has great responsibilities in this matter. In times past it has, perhaps, given too much prominence to dogmatics, whilst neglecting some of its practical duties as a social institution. Hence a growing disbelief in the Christian law of social ethics which lies at the root of our economic difficulties in the present day. It must bestir itself to make up for past deficiencies, and authoritatively to re-assert that the solidity of true religion consists in the full recognition of a solidarity of interests among all members of the Christian body; that Christian love, as the bond of perfectness, can alone produce that adhesiveness which the various forms of co-operative union in "Mutualism" and "Collectivism" aim at, but cannot attain from want of sufficient motive force.

"Le retour aux principes abandonnés et presque tout-à-fait oubliés de l'ordre social Chrétien," says a modern French Ultramontane Christian Socialist; "et avant tout la restauration de cet ordre social dans la sphère des intérêts économiques, voilà le seul moyen de sauver une société qui agonise sous les coups de ses propres fautes. Hors de là, point de salut." *

* Compare with this the following extract from the Pope's letter to the Belgian Bishops in 1881: "Nos ipsi ante omnes summopere cupimus ut humana societas Christiano more componatur, atque omnes civitatis ordines Divina Christi virtus penetret aci pervadat."

And what is the method proposed for transforming the existing social order in this sense? It is the method of association, and implies the gradual and peaceful conversion of competitive into co-operative industry. The organization of labour on co-operative principles is an essential element in every programme of Christian Socialism. But whilst there is catholic consent on the general principle of association, there are wide differences as to its application, mainly arising from the varying political and religious conditions of different countries in which it appears. Thus, *e.g.* in France and Austria the demand of "Catholic Socialism" is for a revival of the mediæval trade co-operations; in Protestant Germany the Christian social party, with its leanings towards "State Socialism," favours what would correspond more with productive association under government protection; whilst Christian Socialists in England, as might be expected, chiefly depend on self-help and private philanthropy in their effort to promote the principles and practice of co-operation. All, however, are agreed on this point, that what the French call "*la mutualité sociale*" is only possible in a society which is interpenetrated by the spirit of Christ. The Christian law says: "Whosoever will be greatest among you, let him be your servant!" It regards life as a service and a sacrifice. Thus it becomes "*le fécond principe d'association*." It supplies the power of foregoing individual rights and personal claims in favour of others, and strengthens where it does not first call forth a deep consciousness of common, apart from personal, interests. If we are asked, therefore, concerning our theory, "What type of social structure is it tending to produce?" we unhesitatingly reply, "The unified type as opposed to the 'militant type' of industrial life." In a collegiate

organization of this kind, where the bond of union is Christian love, the objection that all Socialism involves slavery loses its force. Whatever may be said of the different kinds of Secular Socialism, Christian Socialism acknowledges only *voluntary* association. Servitude loses its sting when the service is perfect freedom. The impossibility of establishing society on such and similar principles has been deduced from the consideration that "there is no political alchemy by which you can get golden conduct out of leaden instincts." But Christianity supplies that higher instinct of devoted love which renders association practical and the "tyranny of organization" unnecessary. For here we have not the controlling power of a positive obligation, but the spontaneous following of a higher law—rigid, indeed, but with the rigour of self-renunciation in the mutual relationships between men and men. This forms the central truth of the Christian Socialist theory; it is the key-stone of the system. Christian Socialists are not blind to the existing imperfections of human nature. They do not at present expect to find in any large body of men or women this capacity of rising to the Christian ideal. That would be framing a theory on imaginary data, and reckoning with factors which exist only in an economic millennium. But they do believe in the latent potentialities of Christianity ultimately to effect such changes as well as in the educative power of Christian institutions to hasten on the process. Hence the demand on the part of Roman Catholic economists for corporate union on the basis of authority and antiquity, and the resuscitation of guilds in one form or another as the nucleus of social reunion. Hence, too, the demand of others for new forms of co-operation to be evolved out of our present institutions, so as to secure individual freedom and

corporate union in an association of equals, with or without state aid. The former may be called the policy of social reaction; the latter that of progressive social reform. Both aim at putting an end to the era of conflict in the present competition struggle, or of virtually modifying it and inaugurating the era of concerted action as the future basis of industrial life.

Thus, to give one or two illustrative examples; in a volume of social studies, published lately by the authorities of l'Euvre des Cercles Catholiques d'Ouvriers, already mentioned above, a number of reasons are given for a modernized application of the ancient guild system under the form of "associations professionnelles Catholiques d'arts et métiers;" * whilst le Comte de Mun, from his seat in the Chamber of Deputies, recommends "l'établissement légal des syndicats professionnels" as the best remedy for the social evils of the time.†

Corporative association implies decentralization and local government. Its advocates among Christian Socialists in Germany are therefore less pronounced. Such associations, it is argued, were necessary in the Middle Ages because of the faulty organization of the State. In the absence of civil and military authorities strong enough to guarantee order and protection to the individual, it was necessary to have recourse to such methods of self-government and mutual protection. The formation of corporate bodies and associated trades are simply the agglutinative process of isolated social molecules arising from the necessities of a lawless age. They are means of self-help when State-help is impossible. Now, however, the state with all the forces of civilization

* Avis No. III., pp. 413, 414.

† "Les Syndicats Professionnelles," discours par le Comte de Mun, 12 and 19 Juin, 1883, pp. 34-36.

at its disposal becomes the natural protector of the weak against the strong, and therefore voluntary associations under the protection of the State for purely economical purposes may alone be tolerated.

In the "Co-operative Manual," edited three years ago by Thomas Hughes and E. Vansittart Neale, two of the most distinguished survivors of the Christian Socialists in England, we have an indication of the standpoint of co-operation in this country. Though differing as widely as possible from continental modes of propagating co-operative principles, it coincides entirely with the Christian Socialist theory of which they form a part. Starting from the postulate that every important scheme of social reform is founded on some theory about the nature of man, his place in the universe, and his destiny, which are precisely the subject matters of religion; and accepting the fact that Christianity is at present the most influential form of religion, the writers affirm that Christianity "will supply in conceptions proper to itself a solid basis for the modes of action through which we think that co-operation may effect the social reforms sought by its means." Co-operative industry and associative life are regarded as the true outcome of the Christian religion, which can "tame into obedience to the law of brotherhood . . . those energies that, left to the law of nature, can produce only the 'struggle of existence,' known to modern political economy under the name of free competition." They show that external bonds of union are insufficient to induce men to share all risks and responsibilities without the guarantee of corresponding rights and rewards; that the principle of union must be sought within, and depends "not on political institutions, however wisely instituted, but on the union of the will of man with One who had submitted to be

crucified as a malefactor that He might resolve the discords of human selfishness into the harmony of Divine love." *

What is remarkable about this part of the theory of Christian Socialism is its coincidence with similar tendencies and forms of thought in the current theories of politics, science, and theology. The "Unity of Nature," "Internationalism," the "Unity of Christendom"—all these are terms expressive of contemporary aspirations towards union in diversity, or what may be called the federalistic ideal. And this view of the ultimate "confederation of the world" corresponds also with the latest results of sociological speculation. For social evolution, as traced by its most distinguished exponents, is represented as passing through the progressive stages of association by compulsion, contract, and communion, respectively—*i.e.* co-operation by force as in the tribe or village community, is succeeded by co-operation from motives of self-interest, as in our existing industrial system; and this is destined to be displaced in the society of the future, by co-operation with fraternal affection for its principle, according to the Christian motto, "*Vincit concordia fratrum.*"

Such a theory may by many be received with an incredulous smile as impracticable, and, like most proposals of social innovators, fit only to be relegated to that branch of study called "the science of the unnecessary." We will not discuss this point. It is our business here to state, not to establish, the theory of Christian Socialism. Thus much, however, may be said, that the view here presented of the society of the future is a

* See "A Manual for Co-operators," edited by Thomas Hughes, Q.C., and Edward Vansittart Neale, General Secretary of the Co-operative Union, part i. chap. i. p. 13, and *ante*.

cheering and a hopeful one. For it regards our present social system, which is founded on egotism, simply as one of those temporary forms, or "larval appendages," which disappear in a more advanced state of the social organism; it looks upon it as only a transition state from a lower to a higher form of social life when, in the words of the modern poet—

"There shall come from out this noise of strife and groaning
A broader and a juster brotherhood;
A deep equality of aim postponing
All selfish seeking to the general good.
Then shall come a time when each shall to another
Be as Christ would have him—brother unto brother."

This brings us to the last stage of our inquiry, namely the question what is likely to be the practical outcome of the theory now under consideration. In other words, how far it may be regarded as one of the intellectual and moral influences of the age affecting the course of social evolution. The great question to be decided at this crisis, says Lange, in a passage of singular beauty, too long to be transcribed here in full, is how far the natural law of differentiation, which in its relentless force widens the gulf between rich and poor every day, may be modified or entirely superseded by a law of human sympathy which has the opposite effect of promoting equality and advancing solidarity. As the progress of a boat, driven back by a strong current and propelled forward by the strokes of the oarsmen, depends on the relative strength of these two antagonistic forces, so, he says, the progress of humanity is the resultant of these two opposite forces—the natural tendency towards differentiation and the force of the mental idea of unity and equality. The former predominates during long periods of stagnation in social development when society

is practically drifting backwards. Then suddenly comes a powerful awakening to a higher sense of social duty which overpowers the natural bent of self-preservation which we have in common with the brutes. It comes in like a mighty stroke of the oars overcoming the resisting medium of the stream, and propels mankind towards the final goal. At such periods the classes which suffer most from social pressure make desperate struggles to re-assert lost rights by means either of an intellectual or a physical revolution. The ruling classes at the same time lose their habitual self-confidence and their sense of security in vested rights. The presentiment of a new era penetrates every soul, the conflict rouses into activity new and unexampled forces; the critical condition of society causes men to break through all material considerations, and to adopt venturesome measures for its improvement. And such periods, adds Lange, are characterized by the *quickenened spiritual life* of man in society, producing higher and nobler aspirations; so that whereas seemingly there may be nothing but a levelling tendency, in reality there is a spiritual revival in society going on all the while, destined to raise humanity to a higher level. If this be so—and there are many indications that we are near, if we are not actually in the midst of such a crisis—then it must follow that the social ideal of Christianity is the expression of this spiritual side of the movement, and that the theory of Christian Socialism which has the realization of this social ideal for its end must exercise a powerful influence on the age we live in. In opposition to the system of *laissez faire, laissez aller*, which amounts to a confession of impotence in the face of natural forces making for social disintegration, it supplies the spiritual force required for overcoming the *vis*

inertia of indolent egotism, satisfied in leaving things alone. It substitutes for the ordinary theory of political economy, and its *ontological* principles of wealth production and distribution, the higher theory which embraces the *deontological* principles of subordinating the process of "getting and spending" to the moral and mental development of the race. At a momentous crisis in the history of our modern civilization it emphasizes the vocation of the Christian Church to hold up a high social ideal, and by means of religious enthusiasm to stimulate the spiritual life in the body politic in order to its realization.

There is a triple tendency in the movements of society in the present day actually at work under our eyes, the tendency from Individualism towards Altruism, from Nationalism towards Cosmopolitanism, from Monopolism (to use the terms of one of the most distinguished pioneers of scientific Socialism) to Panpolism.* But all these are comprehended under the idea of Christian union, which substitutes catholic for ethnic views of society. The realization of this ideal, however distant,

* "Da das Christenthum sich nur von allen übrigen Religionem gerade dadurch unterscheidet, dass es dem Grundsatz der gleichen Berechtigung auf die klarste und unzweideutigste Weise ausspricht: so ist der Panpolismus nicht unvereinbar mit dem Christenthum, sondern vielmehr ein integrierender Theil desselben; die Christen *können* also nicht nur, sondern sie *müssen* Panpolisten sein."

K. Marlo, "Untersuchungen über die Organisation der Arbeit," vol. i., II., p. 695. Cf. F. Huet, "Le Règne social du Christianisme" (a work published in the same year, 1852, and concluding with a glowing picture of "la solidarité universelle" in consequence of the triumph of Christian principles): "Il se formerait un *État Cosmopolitique*, armé d'une puissance formidable contre le mal; en sorte que toute injustice serait punie, toute souffrance allégée, tout obstacle surmonté par les efforts combinés du genre humain" (p. 474); and compare with this Schäffle, "Bau und Leben des sozialen Körpers," vol. i. pp. 693, 694, and "Das Gesellschaftliche System," vol. ii. p. 15, by the same.

is not to be despaired of, and in its conception it is not unlike, though it far surpasses, the Stoics' ideal of an international union, when men should no longer be separated by cities, states, and laws, but when all should be considered as fellow-citizens, partakers of one life, so that the whole world, like a united flock, should be governed by one common law. Christianity demands no less than a perfect coalescence of aims, confluence of ideas, and communion of interests by the final consummation of universal love; therefore, in the words of Mr. Henry George, "the salvation of society, the hope for the free, full development of humanity, is in the gospel of brotherhood—the gospel of Christ."

It is beyond our scope to discuss the further consequences of a detailed application of the theory of which we have given a necessarily condensed, and on this account, perhaps, a less complete, account than we could have desired to present to our readers. To some extent the apparent incompleteness, especially in matters of detail, must be attributed to the vagueness in the utterances of Christian Socialists themselves in this respect. This is only what we must expect in all theorizers. According to a natural division of labour, social philosophers propound theories without entering into minute details, which are left for practical politicians to deal with in their endeavour to give effect to the theories as far as circumstances and events will admit.

To some extent the same holds good even in the case of scientific theories and their practical application. For example, in the construction of a pump, or of any more complex hydraulic machine, we have the practical application of those principles or laws which according to the theory of hydrostatics govern the forces of fluids. The plans of the architect and the works of the civil engineer

are in the same way made conformable to those laws of mutual attraction and repulsion which are demonstrated in the theory of gravitation. But neither Archimedes nor Sir Isaac Newton, in stating their respective theories, thought it necessary to dwell on the remoter consequences of a detailed application of their principles to practical mechanics. In the same way, the theorizers of mutual attraction and repulsion in the social molecules of our industrial system, and the propounders of theories on the dynamics of religion, as a social force, cannot be expected to do more than show the tendencies of natural and spiritual forces, governing the movements of human atoms and their mutual action and reaction in the mechanism of society.

CHAPTER II.

LAMENNAIS; OR, CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM IN FRANCE.

"SOCIALISM," it has well been said, "is a word which, to many persons, has an alarming sound, and which has undoubtedly been associated at different times with some ugly practices. Yet in itself the term would seem to imply only a laudable desire for an improved organization of society; it is necessary to remember that there is a healthy as well as an unhealthy way in which the object may be sought."

It is in this better sense of giving expression, either in theory or in practice, to social ideals, that Christian Socialists, past and present, have endeavoured to improve society on religious principles. Readily recognizing existing social grievances, they try to find a remedy for them in the adjustment of social relations on a Christian basis. Whilst admitting that the existing state of things is not all that it ought to be, they differ widely from other socialists as to the methods to be adopted with a view to improve society. Their type of social union is not a "Society of Equals," which simply secures to each member an equal amount of material enjoyment, but the social idea of the New Testament, where "Christ's kingdom" is represented as "a true brotherhood founded on devotion and self sacrifice." Christian Socialists take note of the *duties* as well as the

rights of individuals. Accordingly, in their endeavour to realize a higher social ideal, their chief aim is to reconcile, by means of mutual concessions, existing class-differences, rather than in forcibly removing them; to reform social abuses in reforming individual character, rather than to reconstruct society on an entirely new basis; to reunite the scattered social units, each pursuing its own selfish ends, by a common faith and hope in a common effort, rather than by a new social mechanism—a new “organization of labour.” In short, they trust more to the effects of internal change of character and the moral influences of the Christian idea, than the external pressure of social institutions, limiting the voluntary action of individuals. Their methods, therefore, are constructive, rather than destructive, guiding rather than governmental, and in most cases theoretical rather than experimental.

In these chapters we are only concerned with modern Christian Socialists in the three foremost countries of Western Europe, and among these France occupies the first place, as to time, in the history of the movement. Here we naturally turn to Lamennais as the principal figure in that small band of Christian Socialists, of whom Buchez, Périn, Lamartine, and, for a short time, Lacordaire and Montalembert, were the most prominent representatives.

Hugues Félicité Robert de Lamennais, afterwards known as le Père Lamennais, was the son of a well-connected shipbuilder of St. Malo. Brought up chiefly in the library of an eccentric uncle of rather sceptical tendencies, he became acquainted, early in life, with Voltairean views on religious subjects, and Rousseau's theories of society. Having lost his mother when he was seven, those who influenced him most for good were his aunt and elder

brother, both of whom were noted devotees. Born with the religious instinct of the Breton, and inclined by natural disposition to contemplative and retiring habits, the young Féli, as Lamennais was called in the home circle, bethought himself early to embrace the religious life. Still, for a long time, from over-conscientious doubts and scruples as to his faith and fitness for the office, he delayed taking Holy Orders.

An early incident in his child-life appears to have given a peculiar bent to his character, and to have powerfully influenced his conduct in the successive phases of his eventful career.

In 1793, when he was eleven years old, a scene was transacted before his eyes which must have been a by no means uncommon occurrence, during that period of revolutionary frenzy, when the churches were closed, the clergy a proscribed order, and the assembling of the faithful for Divine worship attended by imminent danger. One evening, a priest, the venerable Abbé Viel, entered the paternal mansion in disguise, to celebrate private mass at midnight, whilst an aged servant watched without to prevent surprise and discovery. A table, with two lighted candles, served as an altar. The priest, assisted by Lamennais' brother, performed the ceremony. All prayed fervently, and, after pronouncing the blessing, before daybreak, the worthy man took his departure. This scene was so deeply impressed on Lamennais' mind, that he could never allude to it without deep emotion. It, no doubt, from an early age, coloured his views of men and things, and, to some extent, accounts for that exaggerated dread of persecution and oppression which haunted him throughout life, and often made him see dangers and enemies to freedom which only existed in his fertile imagination. The misfortunes and ruin of his

house, caused by revolutionary tyranny, stimulated an innate tendency to moroseness and misanthropy, and produced in his writings what has been aptly called an eloquent hatred (*haine eloquente*) against all governments resting on force. With a highly sensitive organism and the restless excitability of a melancholy temperament, Lamennais combined in his character a haughty obstinacy and polemical aggressiveness which made him the earnest and easy advocate of any cause he took up; it also produced those sudden transitions from one mode of thought to another, which arose, not from weakness or fickleness of character, but from the very intensity of his new convictions. The stirring times in which he lived, moreover, had a disturbing effect on a naturally impetuous temperament, and each of the three revolutionary waves which passed over France during his lifetime, left their impression on his susceptible nature. In their reflex action, they, in turn, became the cause of social agitation in Lamennais, as the impatient leader of public opinion in a restless age.

Perhaps no better key to Lamennais' character could be given than the picture of the man himself as drawn by one of his contemporary admirers, a lady famous for her power of delineating human character. George Sand speaks of the "austere and terrible face of the great La Mennais," with his brow like that of an unbroken wall, "a brass tablet—the seal of indomitable vigour" upon it. She compares the stiff and rigid inclination of his profile and the angular narrowness of his face with his inflexible probity, hermit-like austerity and incessant toil of thought, ardent and vast as heaven. But, she adds, "the smile which comes suddenly to humanize this countenance changes my terror into confidence, my respect into admiration."

We note three distinct epochs in Lamennais' personal development and public career, which may be called the Reactionary, the Reformatory, and the Revolutionary periods. They correspond to three contemporary events in the history of modern France. Lamennais became successively the warm defender of the Restoration, and of the Reactionary Government in Church and State; the champion of Church liberty under Louis Philippe, and lastly the advocate of the popular sovereignty, when he had become an irreconcilable republican in politics, and a radical, as we should say now, in social philosophy and religion.

Like his celebrated neighbour Chateaubriand, Lamennais shared the religious enthusiasm of young Frenchmen of the period, and became a Royalist and Ultramontanist, the uncompromising opponent of the Napoleonic idea and of the fervid atheism of the Revolutionary era. One of his earliest literary efforts is a tract on the relation of Church and State, conceived in this spirit (1811).

Three or four years later, a pamphlet written in the seminary of St. Malo against Napoleon sent him into exile to England, where he found shelter under the hospitable roof of his friend and tutor, the Abbé Carron. Here he remained till 1816.

On his return to France, and after a short stay in the seminary of St. Sulpice, apparently engaged in tuition and self-culture, he gave to the world the outcome of his reflections in the famous essay on "Indifference in Religious Matters," the first volume of which appeared in 1817. It created an immense sensation. In it the reactionary tendency of the Restoration period appears to the greatest advantage. The authority of Throne and Altar are maintained in opposition to the

growth of excessive individualism; and here, too, Lamennais struck the key-note, so to speak, to most of his subsequent writings on the regeneration of society by the power of Christianity and the Christian Church. Here Lamennais condemns the growing indifference to moral distinctions and religious beliefs of men engaged in the selfish struggle for existence, and the practical denial of rights and duties in the race for wealth as a means of sensuous self-indulgence. Running to the opposite extreme, and confounding Christianity with the Papacy, Lamennais proceeds to make the Roman Pontiff the keystone of society. His principle is as concise as it is comprehensive: "Without Pope there can be no Church, without Church no Christianity, without Christianity no religion, without religion no society." But then, like De Maistre, Lamennais tried to present Christian dogma as the Divine expression of the general laws of the universe. In his view, the voice of the Pope is the voice of the people, which is the voice of God. Hence the Church must become a more vigorous organizing power in society, and "rise up strong enough to renew the face of society, to breathe life into the old corpse of the world."

In thus claiming for the Church the right of social reconstruction on the ground that her infallible voice only re-echoes the common reason of the race, Lamennais unconsciously became the advocate of an alliance between Papal supremacy and the sovereignty of the people. He thus became the inaugurator of a policy for which the timid though astute ecclesiastics of that day were not yet quite prepared, for it amounted to a concordat between Rome and Democracy, and is tantamount to the clerical Conservative Radicalism of our own day.

The claims put forward in this work with much brilliancy and force gained at first for Lamennais the distinguished title of the "New Bossuet." Soon, however, it aroused the suspicions of the orthodox clerical mind in France and the jealousy of the Jesuits at the Roman Court. Lamennais, alarmed at the effect certain misrepresentations might produce on the Holy Father, hastened to Rome in 1824. He was received with open arms at the Vatican. Leo XII., it was said at the time, even offered him the Cardinal's hat. There can be no doubt, however, that Lamennais left Rome not only reassured, but encouraged to devote the remainder of his life to the cause he had taken in hand. Neither the flattering friendship of the Pope nor the prospect of a distinguished ecclesiastical career could detain him in Italy. Lamennais returned to the sombre woods of his Breton retreat, watching with interest the social and political movements which were preparing for the Revolution of July in 1830. He was engaged at the same time in a translation of Thomas à Kempis and in controversial writing against the Gallican clergy.

The Revolution came as Lamennais had predicted; and with the rise of the "Bourgeoisie" into power under the Citizen King growls of discontent rose from the masses, who demanded a larger share in the distribution of national wealth, as well as the extension of civil rights in the government of the country. It was the age of Utopias, the golden age of French Socialism, and no wonder that the popular ferment and the unbounded hopes of social amelioration among all classes reacted on the minds of religious philanthropists like Lamennais. He thought that now at last the hour had struck for social regeneration through the power of the Divine word. The enthusiasm of the young men who had with

him joined the religious reaction of former days was now to be diverted into a different channel. Then rising poets like Victor Hugo and Alfred de Musset had sung the praises of the restoration. Under the new *régime* all this was changed. Something like the modern *Culturkampf* in Germany threatened to destroy the amicable relations between Church and State. A small group of men, with Lamennais for their leader, rose up to defend the liberties of the Church against the encroachments of an ostensibly anti-clerical government. They established *L'Avenir*, as the organ of their party, and announced their work to be at once "catholic and national." Their aim was to liberalize the Church in order to catholicize the Liberal State. They were determined to fight Liberalism with its own weapons. Hence they demand: Non-intervention of the civil authority in religious matters with the suppression of State salaries paid to the clergy; freedom of education; the right of association and popular elections; an unfettered press, and liberty of conscience.

They formed "*L'Agence Générale pour la Defense de la Liberté Religieuse*," a society having the same objects in view which the English Church Union, the Church Defence Institution, and the Christian Socialists following Maurice, all taken together, represent in this country.

Henceforth Lamennais occupied the position mainly of a social reformer, similar to that taken up formerly by Dr. Chalmers in Scotland, as claimant for Church liberty and the "rights of labour" from a Christian point of view.* Montalembert, Lacordaire, and Ozanam, together with Lamennais and a small but select band of

* See Mrs. Oliphant's "*Memoir of the Count of Montalembert*," vol. i. p. 122 *seq.*; also "*Dr. Chalmers' Life*," by J. Dodds, p. 241.

volunteers, endeavoured to give effect to these principles. But the opposition was too strong for them. Lamennais found himself in the same predicament as Fénelon had done in the previous century, though for dissimilar reasons. The attitude of the Pope in both cases was antagonistic for State reasons; their doctrines were pronounced dangerous, because Rome wished to be at peace with the ruling powers in France. Lamennais, however, had not Fénelon's gentle spirit of patient acquiescence. When his clients in the Holy City, frightened by his too vehement defence of Ultramontanism, stood aloof, leaving him to fight their battles against the Government unassisted, Lamennais, enraged at the fear and feebleness of the rulers in the Church, who, as he thought, bargained away faith and freedom for pomp and power, exclaims, "I will show you what a priest can do." But he could do very little, because he was *only* a priest, and as such utterly powerless.

Leo XII., Lamennais' protector, was now dead, and the new pope, Gregory XVI., was less eager than his predecessor to shield the non-accredited champion of the Papacy. The publication of *L'Avenir* was suspended, after thirteen months' existence, and the fact is announced in the following words:—

"If we retire for a moment, it is not through weariness, still less through failing of heart; it is to go, as formerly did the soldiers of Israel, to consult the Lord in Shiloh. Doubts have been thrown on our faith, and even our intentions, for in these times what is not attacked? We leave for a moment the battle-field to fulfil another duty equally urgent. The traveller's staff in our hand, we take our way towards the Eternal City." *

* Here, and in some other portions of this chapter, I am indebted to my

The reception at Rome was very different from that which he had met with eight years before. Diplomatic notes from several European courts had warned the Pope against the pernicious revolutionary theories of the pilgrims. They were scarcely admitted into the presence of the Holy Father, and only on condition that no allusion should be made to the business which brought them to Rome.* Lamennais' ardent and fear-

friend, Professor E. Dowden, for ideas suggested by a paper on Lamennais in his "Studies on Literature," and assistance in the collection of materials on the subject, which I beg here most thankfully to acknowledge.

* It is curious to note the wonderful change in the attitude of the curia, by comparing the reception mentioned above with the hearty reception of a similar Pilgrimage last October, when M. Harmel, the head of the Christian Social Factory at Val-des-Bois, and le Comte de Mun, the leader of the Catholic Social Party in France, introduced eight hundred working men to Pope Leo XIII., and who, in addressing them in cordial and sympathetic language, gave utterance to the following remarks extracted from the Papal allocution :

"Nous vous félicitons en particulier de la part que vous prenez, comme Nous le disait tout-à-l'heure votre éloquent interprète, à l'œuvre de la régénération chrétienne pour le monde du travail manuel. C'est dans cette régénération et dans ce retour aux principes chrétiens et aux enseignements de l'Église catholique et de son Chef, que reside uniquement la solution des questions sociales qui vous touchent de si près.

"Toujours et en tous les temps, il Nous plait ne le redire ici, l'Église s'est préoccupée avec un soin jaloux du sort des classes pauvres et ouvrières. Elle a, par la prédication des doctrines dont elle est la fidèle dépositaire, ennobli le travail, en l'élevant à la hauteur de la dignité et de la liberté humaines ; elle l'a rendu méritoire devant Dieu, en apprenant à l'ouvrier à le sanctifier par des vues surnaturelles, et à supporter avec résignation et en esprit de pénitence les privations et les fatigues qu'il lui impose.

"L'Église, d'autre part, a toujours rappelé aux riches et aux puissants l'obligation qui leur incombe de secourir leurs frères de condition plus humble, et de respecter en eux le caractère d'hommes et de chrétiens. . . .
 "Nous-mêmes, dès le début de Notre Pontificat, Nous avons pensé à vous, quand nous rappelions aux peuples les principes fondamentaux de l'ordre social, Nous avons suivi, depuis, avec attention les travaux des Congrès tenus successivement en France, en Italie, en Allemagne, et, dans

less nature was repelled by the temporizing, circuitous, backstair policy of the curia, its wordliness, and its cowardice. Week after week he waited in vain for a decision, and at last, wearied with endless delays, he left the city of the Tiber, a disappointed man. Montalembert accompanied his friend, and they met Lacordaire at München. It was there, at a repast provided by distinguished writers and artists of the city for the three friends, that a messenger of the Nuncio presented Lamennais with the Pope's Encyclical letter, dated August 15, 1832. A glance told him that it was unfavourable. Without further examination, he said, in a low voice, "I have just received an Encyclical of the Pope against us; we must not hesitate, but submit." On his return home, he drew up the act of submission, which satisfied the Pope. Another and more stringent form of declaration was extorted from Lamennais in the course of the following year. He agreed to it, with some reservations, for the sake of peace; but its effect on his own mind was damaging to the cause of Rome. He arrived at the sad conviction that he had mistaken the principles of the Catholic Church, that his attempt to reconcile the cause of humanity with that of Rome had proved a complete failure. With the knowledge and at the suggestion of the Archbishop of Paris he gives in a simple, unconditioned adhesion to the Pope's Encyclical in all matters spiritual, but reserves to himself the right of doing his duty to his country and humanity. Hence-

ces derniers jours en Belgique et en Suisse; et nous ne cesserons de faire, pour l'amélioration de votre sort, tout ce que Notre charge et Notre cœur de Père pourront nous suggérer."

See a graphic account of this modern Pilgrimage of Delegates belonging to the Catholic Working-men's Clubs throughout France in *L'association Catholique*, "Revue des Questions Sociales and Ouvrières," Numéro 5, Nov. 15, 1887.

forth the full vigour of Lamennais' mind is given to the popular cause.

The renewal of society was still to be accomplished by religious agency. Speaking of the abject egotism and excessive Individualism of the time, and of the duty of self-denial for the common good, in a letter dated 1836, he says truly enough, what F. D. Maurice said independently twelve years later, "Be very sure of this, that no human creature will be found saying sincerely our *brothers* who are on earth, unless they have said previously 'our *Father* which art in heaven.'"* But Rome no longer satisfied his spiritual cravings, and in anger and in sorrow he bade farewell to the religious system which he had defended so warmly and so ably.

This brings us to the third and last stage of Lamennais' mental development, marked by the appearance of his most popular work, "*Les Paroles d'un Croyant*" (1834). It is the product of the age as well as of the man, and is impregnated with the political aspirations and socialistic ideas of the time. In it for the first time Lamennais appears as the exponent of militant Christian Socialism. In his solitary walks under the Druidical oaks of La Chenaie he feels, so to speak, the palpitations of the human heart all over the civilized world. He cannot refrain from uttering his prophetic warnings and exhortations. An English Quarterly reviewer of the time remarks that the work in question exhibits a "monstrous alliance between a false Christianity and a real Jacobinism," and calls Lamennais "a priest in a bonnet rouge." The work itself he styles "a silly and profane rhapsody;" but we are not told why the

* See "*Œuvres inédites de F. Lamennais*," par A. Blaize, vol. ii. pp. 146, 147.

"infamous volume" * passed rapidly through fifteen editions, and was received all over the Continent in various translations with universal rapture.

The fact is, the volume enjoyed this unprecedented popularity because it expressed a wide-spread feeling of the times; that the world was out of joint; that a new order of things had become necessary; that the professed principles of Christian morality would have to replace the all-prevailing rule of selfishness in the industrial world, so as to avert a social revolution as the result of class-antagonism provoking civil war.

To organize labour on the principle of fraternal association was now the dream of philanthropists; to substitute self-sacrifice for self-seeking as the ruling motive of human activity, and to remove the evils of competition by encouraging friendly co-operation, became now the aim of all. Like Carlyle, in the Essay on "Chartism," and in his "Latter-day Pamphlets," social reformers in France watched with pain and sorrow the "living chaos of ignorance and hunger" in the lower strata of society. For this reason, Buchez, President of the National Assembly and a disciple of St. Simon, made attempts to establish associations with a common fund from 1828 to 1848, and apparently with some success. Socialists like St. Simon in his "*Nouveau Christianisme*," and philosophers like Comte, the friend both of St. Simon and Lamennais (for a time at least), humanitarians and orthodox Churchmen, all felt that some form of religious self-forgetfulness could alone save society. For this the frigid systems of the economic theorists had no prescrip-

* It is gratifying to note an improvement of manners in this reviewer in 1848, when he speaks of Lamennais as "vigorous and intrepid as a thinker, eloquent and elegant as a writer."—*Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxxiii. p. 212.

tion, and the philanthropist at best could but offer paltry palliatives. It was felt, in short, that in the feverish condition of the social organism, the calming and soothing influences of Divine remedies were needed. According to Lamennais, it is the absence of faith and love and of the love of justice which causes the suffering and deprivations of the many to satisfy the extravagant demands of the few. If the weak will only unite in brotherly love, this feeling of solidarity will be the safeguard against the tyranny of the strong. On the other hand, "if you separate," he says, "each only considering himself, you have nothing to expect but suffering, misfortune, and oppression."

It has been said that in the name of religion Lamennais became almost the prophet of social rebellion. It would be more correct to say that what he aimed at was to spiritualize democracy as he had previously tried to Christianize Liberalism and to Romanize the society of the Restoration period. The Pope called "Les Paroles" "a work of immense perversity," but the people of Europe received it with joy. The fiery language of the book, its "poetical pictures in Biblical prose," rendered it extremely popular in form. The relief it afforded Lamennais in thus unburdening his soul, and its unexpected success, produced a feeling of joyous placidity such as Lamennais had rarely enjoyed. At this season he speaks calmly of his enforced solitude and the sweet monotony of his retreat, far away from great iniquities, turpitudes, and crimes, breathing at ease, walking, reading, and working to fill up vacant hours.

"The song of birds, the hum of insects, the noise of the wind passing through the foliage, the moon peeping through the branches of ancient oaks, the passing clouds at even, all this has a wonderful restorative power for the troubles of

the mind. Thus I have never been able to understand why so few people like to live with nature alone."

But this temporary lull did not last very long. His mind was too eager and the march of events was too rapid for Lamennais to enjoy a restful, contemplative life in communion with nature. As his brother said of him, "repose is impossible to him, God has made him a soldier." This pugnacious temperament, now that he had become the people's advocate, makes him attack society, and chiefly that section of it for which St. Simon had lately coined a new name, the "Bourgeoisie," or moneyed middle-class, regarded ever since by all Socialists with mingled aversion and contempt. "*Le Livre du Peuple*," published in 1837, and "*L'Esclavage Moderne*," published three years later, are all full of it.

"In passing through the earth," Lamennais begins the opening chapter of the former work, "as we all do, transitory passengers of the hour, I heard awful groanings; I opened mine eyes, and saw unheard-of sufferings without number. Pale, sick, failing, covered with the garments of mourning, stained here and there with blood, Humanity rose before me, and I asked myself, 'Is that man as God has made him?' And my heart was deeply moved, and this doubt filled me with anguish."

His doubts are allayed, and he shows how human ignorance and passion are the main causes of suffering. Unlike some other "true demagogues," Lamennais speaks, not only of rights, but also of duties. He reminds the poor that they must be up and doing to remove the weight of evils under which they are groaning; that they have themselves to blame if the burden is to be borne by their children through their own ignorance, neglect, egotism, and cowardice. After the manner of most Socialists, he attributes all the evils to a vicious arrange-

ment of the social order, brought about by the selfishness of the ruling classes.

The new era which he pictures is to be brought about by the spiritual forces of the Christian Religion, as *l'énergie organisatrice* in the harmonious development of society.

"When you shall have succeeded in giving to your organization the Christian equality of rights, the regeneration (of society) intended by you, and which God commands you to aspire after, will be accomplished of its own accord in those three inseparable branches, the mental, moral, and material order of things."

Like most enthusiasts who have written on social life, Lamennais has been more successful in describing social evils and laying down general principles of social improvement than in the way of giving hints for practical experiment. In social politics Lamennais was a failure. Often allied by force of circumstances to men of inferior mark, he wasted much of his genius and power in journalism and pamphleteering, a task for which he was but imperfectly equipped by previous habits and training. But what he did he did with energy and to the best of his abilities, though at times even in the face of humiliating defeats.

Thus in the same year which saw the publication of "Le Livre du Peuple," he also takes the editorship of the *Monde*, which he conducted for three months. Some of the articles which appeared then were published in a separate form under the heading "Le Pays et le Gouvernement," which led to a lawsuit, condemnation, and a year's imprisonment in St. Pélagie. Here another little volume was written, conceived in the same spirit, "Une Voix de Prison," giving expression to the complaints and aspirations of the Proletariat.

In 1848, Lamennais' long-cherished wish to represent "the people" in the council of the nation was fulfilled at last; he was elected a member of the Constituent Assembly. Here his peculiar deficiencies which had stood in the way of success before, impeded his movements once more. An admirable poet, following the inspiration of his severe and irritated muse, Lamennais could rouse the passions and set a popular movement going, but he did not possess the calm and cautious *savoir faire* of the practical politician, nor the circumspect deliberation of the discriminating philosopher to guide and direct men and events. As M. Rénan remarks, referring to this grave fault in his character, Lamennais is inexplicable, unless it be acknowledged that a man may be at the same time a superior artist, a mediocre philosopher, and an incensed politician.

The quick irritability of genius is little calculated to fit a man for co-operation with ordinary men of the world, dealing with public measures on common-sense principles in a calculating spirit. With the quickness of an eager mind Lamennais detected too readily motives and gave utterance too rashly to harsh criticisms, which offended, and estranged the men with whom he worked. He is too much like one of the knights of the Middle Ages, or like one of those austere anchorites of an earlier period, who imagined themselves constantly assailed by lurking enemies and Satanic powers which they are sent to combat, and thus he strikes right and left without fear and without mercy, and still more often without discrimination. If he roused profound sympathies, he also provoked implacable hatreds, and thus injured the cause he advocated in losing one after another of his supporters. He failed as soon as he descended from the rostrum to enter the arena of constructive legislation.

Even the mob found it hard to recognize in this modern John the Baptist, with his haughty airs of spiritual exclusiveness, their true leader. When his proposals did not meet with that complete acquiescence which he demanded as a right, he turned away from his democratic coadjutors, as before he had done from the ecclesiastical superiors, dissatisfied and disappointed.

The *coup d'état* of Napoleon III. silenced Lamennais' voice as a popular agitator. Henceforth in the solitude of his retirement he sought the consolations of philosophy and religious contemplation. He endeavoured to drown the bitter recollections of those stormy and sterile parliamentary discussions in speculative inquiries. The result of these labours is the unfinished work of his latter days, "L'Esquisse d'une Philosophie." As old age crept upon him the soothing effects of time softened the asperities of his irritable temperament. A serene calm succeeded, during which Lamennais turned to more congenial studies, the translation of the New Testament, portions of which had appeared already in 1846, and the study of Dante's "Divina Commedia." It was whilst engaged on an introduction to the latter that he was struck with the fatal disease from which he never recovered.

The principles which helped him to bear the burden of life, and to deliver himself of the task assigned him, may be gathered from the following letter to a young man, who had confided to him, the story of his own sufferings.

"And you, too," he writes, "mingle your own voice with the solemn voice of nature which is heard across the centuries like one long funereal lamentation. You have suffered much, you still suffer much, as all human beings suffer in body and in soul, not only sufferings which bear a name of their own, but also that unknown something which all of us carry about

us within ourselves; and this is life, and the beauty and grandeur, the ineffable grandeur of life. For are we to be satisfied with that hungering after something which seems to devour us daily and yet without being able to be satisfied, that which fills the short space between the cradle and the grave? Oh no, no! A beneficent power compels us to soar higher. Sometimes, however, seduced by airy illusions and the inexperience of youth, we persuade ourselves that this good so much desired is close by our side, that we can take hold of it, that we have seized it already; then, all of a sudden, as Pascal says, it escapes our grasp, and sadly we acknowledge that it was only a shadow. Then the deceived heart is troubled, and worn out with the bitterness of its grief. Because the image of the trembling star has disappeared in the flood beneath, which for a moment reflected it, we cease to believe the existence of the star itself. Lift up your eyes, my dear child, you will find it risen a little higher. It would be reasonable, all the same, to inquire whether there be some object in our existence, and what it is. This end certainly is not the individual self in each case, as the centre of all things; for each individuality cannot be that. But every one of us, to be what he ought to be, must propose to himself, in everything he does or desires, another object outside himself: and thus at once *duty* presents itself rising above life and illuminating it with a new light, it fills it with joys, severe undoubtedly, but profound, too, and inexhaustible."

The malady which first compelled Lamennais to take his bed on January 16, 1854, had now made rapid progress. The end was at hand, and found Lamennais ready, calm, collected, and consistent. To the last he repelled firmly some friendly, but injudicious attempts, to reconcile him to the Church. This was the only irritant disturbing the quiet ebbing away of life. After forty-three days of suffering, supported with stoical

resignation, and mostly spent in cheerful conversation with the few friends who gathered round his bedside, Lamennais expired in full possession of his intellectual powers, and unswerving in his convictions to the last moment.

His whole mind, we are told, during his illness, was absorbed in thoughts on God. The night before his death, he had, as it were, a vision of beatitude, of which he speaks to Barbet, "These were happy moments!"

The instructions of his will were: "I wish to be buried among the poor, and like the poor; nothing shall be placed on my grave, not even a simple stone; my body shall be carried direct to the cemetery, without being presented in a church previous to burial.

His injunctions were strictly obeyed. On the last day of February, his funeral passed through the streets of Paris. Crowds of people, whom the Imperial police were sent to disperse, if necessary, watched the mournful procession. They showed their profound respect by uncovering their heads as the last remains of the tribune of the people were carried to their resting-place.

What has been the result of Lamennais' work as a Christian Socialist, in his efforts to ameliorate the condition of the people of France? Of direct results of a positive kind there are none. His was rather the imperious and aggressive temper of the iconoclast, who lays bare the faults and falsities of existing systems, than the calm, constructive energy of the practical reformer. The vehement thoroughness of the man, however, produced a powerful and lasting effect on others, especially the young men of his own time, and since, in stirring them up to activity in the cause of social reform. Lamennais, moreover, succeeded in popularizing the ideas of the Neo-catholic Socialists in France, as C.

Kingsley was instrumental in disseminating the theories of Maurice and the Christian Socialists in this country.

Thus Lamennais may be said to have brought about, indirectly, a *rapprochement* between the Church and the working classes, as indeed the principles of the "Agence Catholique" have virtually, if not always officially, been adopted since by the Romish Church. At all events, it is Lamennais' merit to have emphasized, with all the fervid earnestness of his strong nature, the important truth that religious convictions and enthusiasms are the most powerful elements of social progress. Others have taken up the work where Lamennais left it, though not always in Lamennais' spirit. Still, the guiding principle of his life, of making religion the great regenerating power in society, has been adopted, in one form or another, by a considerable number of young and able writers, whose works must ultimately influence the course of social reform.

Whatever may be the faults of Lamennais' style, declamatory as the occasion required, and vehement because the writer felt so intensely, and endeavoured to excite passion and pity in an age indifferent to the sorrows and sufferings of the masses; whatever may be the errors of judgment in the course of his public career, arising from his limited knowledge of human nature and the principles which govern conduct in average men, we cannot help admiring the sustained force of his disinterested zeal, his masculine courage and candour, added to the charm of almost childlike simplicity and feminine sensitiveness, his high moral tone, and persistent piety throughout the various phases of his development as a man and a social reformer.

If the outlook was dark and the retrospect not reassuring, as the dark shadows gathered round the death-

bed of the aged warrior, one gleam of sunlight, at least, might brighten up the darkness without and within, the consciousness of having done his duty, as far as he had understood it, and giving utterance to the sad convictions of a bewildered soul, very much in the spirit of one of the characters in "King Lear"—

"The weight of this sad time we must obey;
Speak what we feel, not what we ought to say."

CHAPTER III.

CHARLES KINGSLEY; OR, CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM IN
ENGLAND.

IT was by one of those strange coincidences in literary history, which are not without a peculiar significance of their own, that Charles Kingsley in England, and the Duke of Montalembert in France, took for their subject the life of St. Elizabeth in their first attempts of authorship. The coincidence forms a connecting link between the subjects of the last and the present chapter, Lamennais and Kingsley; for both the former, an intimate friend of Montalembert, and the latter were attracted by this mediæval saint because, among other reasons, Elizabeth of Hungary had been "the poor man's patroness" and the representative of Christian Socialism in the thirteenth century. When Montalembert paid a reverential visit to her tomb in 1833, and when, ten years later, Kingsley commenced a history of her life, which ultimately appeared in another form as "The Saint's Tragedy," they were both enthusiastic young men passing through "a season of acute struggle" in their views on religion and society. Both had the welfare of the poor deeply at heart, and were naturally fascinated by a kindred spirit of religious philanthropy. And so Montalembert produced a biography and Kingsley a tragedy, both having for their object to teach the religious world its duty

towards the starving multitude in their struggle, not only with the ancient "tyranny of the feudal code," but also the modern "tyranny of capital." For this there is abundant evidence (so far as Kingsley is concerned) in "The Saint's Tragedy."

Thus Count Hugo, one of the *dramatis personæ*, is simply a specimen of the *doctrinaire*-economists whose cruel Malthusian theories were attacked later on more directly, and almost fiercely, in "Yeast" and "Alton Locke."

Count Hugo is the practical business man who takes a common-sense view of things in famine time.

"The sharper the famine, the higher the prices, and the higher I sell, the more I can spend; so the money circulates, sir, that's the word—like water—sure to run downwards again; and so it's as broad as it is long; and here's a health—if there was any beer—to the farmer's friends, 'a bloody war and a wet harvest.'"

The Abbot, speaking in the language of the Manchester school, equally hateful to Kingsley's mind, rejoins:—

"'Strongly put, though correctly. For the self-interest of each it is which produces in the aggregate the happy equilibrium of all.'

"'But, look you, sir,' retorts another interlocutor, 'private selfishness may be public weal, and yet private selfishness be just as surely damned for all that.'"

Here we have Charles Kingsley's own sentiment, or his social philosophy in its incipient stage. Here he appears for the first time as "the apostle of a new revolutionary gospel."

We have seen that such, too, in the main was Lamennais' standpoint. This suggests a brief comparison

of the two men, and the state of things around them which gave rise to the social movement in which they took such an active part.

There are striking similarities on the one hand, and characteristic peculiarities on the other. Both Lamennais and Kingsley were impetuous and thorough-going, sanguine to a fault, and charged with nervous excitability to the last degree. In both we observe the same energy and enthusiasm producing premature exhaustion, the same sincere simplicity, the same conscientious concentration upon the self-imposed task, which made them fretful under reverses, impatient of trifles, and which produced, at an early stage of their career, that weariness of life which made Kingsley often exclaim, "How blessed it will be when it is all over!"

The distinguishing characteristics of Kingsley are his capacity for physical enjoyment and love of science, his appreciation of home life, quick sense of humour, practical understanding, and wide social sympathies. These preserved him from many errors and extremes to which Lamennais fell an easy victim. Gifted with a natural cheerfulness of disposition and capable of healthy sensuous enjoyment in the house and in the fields, Kingsley rarely gave way to those melancholy broodings which embittered the life and marred the happiness of Lamennais. This English buoyancy of spirits and relish for fun and frolic formed a strange contrast to the recluse habits of the Frenchman, who, though he could be cheerful at rare intervals in conversation with intimates and enjoyed his little Sunday dinners with Béranger at Passy, was nevertheless a victim of almost habitual moroseness.

These personal characteristics had their effect on Kingsley's public life, and had their special value in the

maintenance of mental balance (comparatively speaking) during that "convulsed era" of socialistic agitation when he, with others, joined "the battle against starvation" in the stormy years between 1848-1855.

It was an "anxious and critical time," as Kingsley's friend Thomas Hughes called it. On both sides of St. George's Channel widespread distress and famine had produced loud discontent. The revolution on the Continent fomented the popular agitation in this country. In most of the industrial towns riotous meetings were held. London was declared in a state of siege. The bridges and Downing Street were barricaded, the Bank of England and other public buildings were garrisoned, and the Houses of Parliament provisioned as if for a siege. A million of special constables were sworn in for the protection of life and property against the Chartist rising. This exhibition of force quelled the movement, and the crisis passed away. With the disappearance of immediate danger, men began to underrate the causes of these disturbances and soon became indifferent to the causes which had produced them. To sound the alarm against this growing feeling of supine indifference, some powerful articles appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* to disabuse the public mind of this easy-going misconception as to the real state of things. They startled the world in disclosing the dangers which London had just escaped from, and drew attention to some of the crying social evils which had brought the country within easy distance of a revolution; and with it the conviction dawned in the minds of many that "something ought to be done." Among these was that small band of Christian Socialists who had F. D. Maurice for their leader and Kingsley for their most popular and eloquent spokesman. They perceived what others, blinded by prejudice, failed

to see, that the extinction of Chartism as the symptom of dissatisfaction was not the end of the evil itself. They knew full well that the country had not been quite free from disturbances ever since the Reform agitation. Kingsley himself had been present, as a boy, at the Bristol riots in 1831. What the effect of these early impressions on his mind was, he told the Bristol people twenty-seven years later—

“When the first excitement of horror and wonder was past, what I had seen made me for years the veriest aristocrat, full of hatred and contempt of these dangerous classes, whose existence I had for the first time discovered. It required years—years, too, of personal intercourse with the poor—to explain to me the true meaning of what I saw here in October twenty-seven years ago; and to learn a part of that lesson which God taught to others thereby.”

This lesson of experience taught him that the duty of the Church was not confined to counsel and consolation in times of distress, but that the “new era” required a clergy with intelligent sympathy for the sufferings of the masses, able to apply the moral lever of religion with a view to raise them from their sunken position. He had learned that the gentry who had “discoursed upon the perverseness and wickedness of the human heart which led men into discontent and rebellion” had mistaken the signs of the times, and that a strong effort would be required to bring about a reconciliation of existing class antagonism.

The Duke of Richmond had said, in 1830, in the House of Lords, “I believe a feeling now exists among the labouring classes that your lordships and the upper classes of society are to be regarded rather as their foes than their friends.” This feeling in the public mind had

not subsided, but had been rather intensified in 1848, notwithstanding the passing of the Reform Bill and legislative measures in favour of the working classes, which had occupied the greater portion of the session of 1843.

Dr. Arnold, with the ardour of a religious reformer; Sidney Smith, with the force of religious common sense; and Dean Hook, with the skilful energy of religious organization, had each in their way prepared the way for the Christian Socialists. Sir Robert Peel had passed his measures of reform of Church property to augment small livings, with the intention, expressed at the time, in the following words:—

“The advantage I anticipate is, that by this proceeding I shall place the Church of England in a favourable light before the people of this country, and conciliate towards it that favour and affection to which I believe it to be justly entitled, and lay the foundation of extended usefulness.” *

The time had now come when Dr. Arnold's fears lest the old ecclesiastical structure was no longer suited to the needs of the times was to be dispelled by the appearance of a body of men in the Church, taught in his school and imbued with his spirit, who rose to the occasion, and in the person of Parson Lot made it their effort to have “God justified to the people.” †

* Martineau, “History of the Peace,” vol. iv. p. 275; and *cf. ibid.*, p. 271, *et passim*; also vol. ii. p. 485. Dr. Hook during the election of churchwardens in 1843 had said that the Chartists “were the only body of churchwardens who had conducted themselves in an honourable, straightforward, and gentlemanly manner.”—*Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 279.

† It is interesting to note here a coincidence in the appreciation of Christian Socialism in England and France respectively. The English Christian Socialists were characterized by the *Quarterly Review*, which criticized so severely Lamennais and his school, as “a clique of educated and clever but wayward-minded men—who, from, as it seems, a morbid craving for notoriety or a crazy straining after paradox—preach Jacobinism and *Jacquerie*, under the name of Christian Socialism.”—*Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxxix. (1851).

For a while Kingsley watched keenly the current of events from his retreat at Eversley without taking an active part in the movement, except by way of correspondence with Maurice. But when the news of the Chartist rising reached him at last, he could contain himself no longer, but went up to town to take his share in the work.

Soon after this appeared *Politics for the People*, with those powerful contributions of Charles Kingsley under the well-known title, "Letters to the Chartists," signed by "Parson Lot." These were sadly misunderstood and misinterpreted by contemporaries as of the most violent revolutionary character. They were nothing of the sort. Kingsley had said, indeed, in one of them, "My only quarrel with the Charter is, that it does not go far enough in reform." But what he meant by going not far enough he explains further on, when he points out the error of the Chartists in "fancying that legislative reform is social reform, or that man's heart can be changed by Act of Parliament." He then directs their mind to the only true organizing force of society, when he says:—

"God will only reform society on condition of our reforming every man his own self, while the devil is quite ready to help us to mend the laws and the Parliament, earth and heaven, without ever starting such an impertinent and 'personal' request, as that a man should mend himself." Immediately afterwards he directs their attention to the Bible, as "the poor man's comfort and the rich man's warning." *

* *Politics for the People*, pp. 28, 58, and "Letters and Memories of his Life," vol. i. pp. 164, 165. "The Bible," says Charles Kingsley, "not only dwells on the rights of property and the duties of labour," but "for once that it does that, it preaches ten times over, the *duties of property and the rights of labour*."

It was with sentiments like these (he called it "Bible-Radicalism") that Kingsley, on a memorable occasion, attended one of the meetings, organized by the Christian Socialists to meet the Chartists, at the Cranbourne Tavern; Maurice presiding. Some vehement speeches had just been made against the Church, when Kingsley rose, and, folding his arms across his chest, he threw back his head, and began: "I am a Church of England parson," then, after a long pause, "and a Chartist." But here, too, he not only expressed sympathy with the grievances of the Chartists, but also courageously condemned some of their false methods in the proposed settlement of the question.*

Want of friends put an end to the publication of *Politics for the People*, but this did not prevent an effort being made in another direction.

Mr. Ludlow had just returned from Paris, where he had seen something of the working of organized labour associations. It was intended to start similar co-operative societies in England. A new publication was started to advocate co-operative principles, and Ludlow became its editor. It called itself the *Christian Socialist*, and its main object, as stated in the first number, was "to diffuse the principles of co-operation by the practical application of Christianity to the purposes of trade and industry."

Its promoters boldly expressed their belief in the essential harmony between Christianity and Socialism; but Socialism with them only meant associated labour as distinguished from individual enterprise. In fact, the alternative name of this publication was much more appropriate, though less sensational and less exposed to misinterpretation—*A Journal of Association*.

* See Prefatory Memoir of Thomas Hughes in "Alton Locke," p. xix.

However, although association and co-operative labour was the primary, it was not to be the sole object of the Christian Socialists.

"We must touch the workman at all his points of interest," said Kingsley at the time, in a letter to Mr. Ludlow. "First and foremost at association, but also at political rights, as grounded both on the Christian ideal of the Church, and on the historic facts of the Anglo-Saxon race. Then national education, sanitary and dwelling-house reform, the free sale of land, and corresponding reform of the land-laws, moral improvement of the family relation, public places of recreation (on which point I am very earnest) and I think a set of hints from history, and sayings of great men, of which last I have been picking up from Plato, Demosthenes, etc." *

In one of the early numbers of the *Christian Socialist*, Kingsley, under the *nom de plume* of "Parson Lot," draws a parallel between the exodus of the children of Israel from the Egyptian bondage, and the deliverance of the working classes from modern "tyrants." In a later number,† he labours to show as against the *Reasoner*, a Chartist publication, that the higher notion of the "dignity of labour" is derived from the inspired teaching of Holy Writ. In a lecture of Kingsley's, published then, he refers to the success of the Moravian Establishment compared with the failure of other social schemes in their practical application, and assigns the following as the reasons:—

"Because they were undertaken in the fear of God, and with humility and caution; because the Moravians acted in

* Prefatory Memoir in "Alton Locke," p. xxi.

† *Christian Socialist*, vol. i. pp. 25, 26; *ibid.*, pp. 113, 114.

the faith that they were brothers and sisters, members of one body, bound to care not for themselves, but for the commonwealth." *

In fact, throughout, the aim of this publication was very similar to that of *L'Avenir* in France. "The new element is democracy in Church and State. Waiving the question of its evil and its good, we cannot stop it. *Let us Christianize it instead.*" †

To do this a courageous attitude was indispensable, and Kingsley was prepared in his pugnacious way for a bold step. As he put it himself, "I want to commit myself; I want others to commit themselves. A man never fishes well in the morning till he has tumbled into the water!"

The tumble came at a time when he least expected it. It happened in the year of the Exhibition of 1851. By this time the Christian Socialists had established themselves sufficiently to attract public attention. Their publications, especially Kingsley's tract, entitled, "Cheap Clothes and Nasty," had caused a considerable sensation. When, therefore, a series of lectures and sermons on social subjects were organized by some of the London clergy, Kingsley, too, through Maurice, was requested to join in the enterprise. He consented, and selected for the subject of his sermon, "The Message of the Church to the Labouring Men." The incumbent of the church at which it was to be delivered cordially approved of it, and no guarantees were given of any kind as to the manner of treatment by the preacher.

* *Christian Socialist*, vol. i. p. 253. Readers may be referred to a little book by the present writer, treating on this subject, entitled "Socialism and Communism in their Practical Application," and published by the S.P.C.K., especially pp. 91 and 92, on the Moravian Brotherhood.

† "Letters and Memoirs of his Life," vol. i. p. 141.

Kingsley took for his text, Luke iv. 16-21, and in the course of his sermon he remarked—

"I assert that the business for which God sends a Christian priest in a Christian nation is to preach and practise liberty, equality, and brotherhood in the fullest, deepest, widest, simplest meaning of these great words; that, in as far as he so does, he is a true priest, doing his Lord's will, and with his Lord's blessing on him. . . .

"All systems of society which favour the accumulation of capital in a few hands, which oust the masses from the soil which their forefathers possessed of old, which reduce them to the level of serfs and day-labourers living on wages and on alms, which crush them down with debt, or in any wise degrade and enslave them, or deny them a permanent stake in the commonwealth, are contrary to the kingdom of God which Jesus proclaimed." *

At the close of the sermon the incumbent got up and declared that in his opinion the greater part of it was untrue, and that he had expected something quite different. Kingsley made no reply. It must have been a great trial to repress his vehement indignation at such conduct. The congregation evidently expected a reply. He merely bowed his head, pronounced the blessing, and descended from the pulpit.

The unusual step taken by the incumbent was all the more surprising, as he had professed acquaintance with, and expressed great admiration for, Charles Kingsley's published writings. But among them were "Yeast" and "Alton Locke," the former of which had appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1848, the latter had been published in 1850, and both of them contained matter of a much more inflammable character than the sermon in question.

* See Sermon at St. John's Church, Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, June 22, 1857.

It is to them we must turn now as containing the most characteristic sentiments of Charles Kingsley at this period of agitation, and the most important in our biographical sketch of Kingsley as a Christian Socialist. "Yeast" was seething in the author's mind during the period of suspense which preceded the Chartist outbreak, and, as its name implies, it was intended to reflect the turbid state of the public mind at the time.

In the book itself, the fragmentary and unconnected form of which Kingsley acknowledges and attributes to "the yeasty state of the mind of the world around him," we have here and there strong socialistic passages, of which the following is a fair specimen. It is in the form of a dialogue between a country gentleman and Lancelot, the hero of the story—

"'If man living in civilized society,' said Lancelot, 'has one right which he can demand, it is this, that the State which exists by his labour shall enable him to develop, or, at least, not hinder his developing, his whole faculties to the very utmost, however lofty that may be. While a man who might be an author remains a spade-drudge, or a journeyman while he has capacities for a master; while any man able to rise in life remains by social circumstances lower than he is willing to place himself, that man has a right to complain of the State's injustice and neglect.'

"'Really, I do not see,' said Vieuxbois, 'why people should wish to rise in life. They had no such self-willed fancy in the good old times. The whole notion is a product of these modern days.'

"'I think, honestly,' said Lancelot, whose blood was up, 'that we gentlemen all run into the same fallacy. We fancy ourselves the fixed and necessary element in society, to which all others are to accommodate themselves. "Given the rights of the few rich, to find the condition of the many poor." It seems to me that the other postulate is quite as

fair—"Given the rights of the many poor, to find the condition of the few rich."

"Lord Minchamstead laughed.

"If you hit us so hard, Mr. Smith, I must denounce you as a Communist.'" *

Nowhere in his writings, except perhaps in "Alton Locke," does he paint in more vivid colours, or with a more painfully realistic intensity, the extremes of luxury and poverty than in this volume, and yet he is not without hope. He does not see in this the "grinding of the iron sheets of mechanical necessity," but a general plan which Providence will reveal presently. His two principal characters in the novel are to become "an ideal pair of pioneers towards the society of the future."

"Yeast" contains some hard hits at the country parsons, which gave offence at the time. The fact is, he was young and ardent when he wrote the book, and his language was not cautious, nor did he intend it to be so. He more frequently wrote as a partisan than with the judicial calm of a social philosopher. But then he only described the state of feeling prevailing at the time without necessarily expressing sympathy with its violence. He drew a picture of the disaffected peasantry, dark and lurid, indeed, but true as drawn from nature. He described what he saw with his own eyes. His critics imagined that he revelled in the contemplation of the anarchical turmoil which he described. In this they were mistaken. Kingsley may have been carried away by excess of sympathy to exaggerate the case, but it was done unconsciously and under a deep sense of duty to speak out and avert dangers which he saw, or imagined he saw, threatening the very existence of society.

This, too, is true of "Alton Locke," that powerful

* "Yeast," pp. 100, 101.

story of the adventures of a Chartist tailor, and which was, as has well been said, "the outpouring of Kingsley's impulsive sympathy with conscious powers impotently struggling under the artificial conditions of a corrupt civilization." Kingsley knew from personal experience something of the difficulty of rising genius which he pictures so faithfully in "Alton Locke." There is a curious passage in one of his letters from America which probably describes his own state of mind at this time: "Thirty years ago . . . I meant to go in despair . . . as soon as I took my degree, and throw myself into the wild life, to sink or to swim, *escaping from the civilization which only tempted me and saddened me with the envy of a poor man!*"*

Most young men with brains make for similar reasons their *début* as radicals, and Parson Lot was at that early period of his life not very apt to hide his feelings under cover of the "fig-leaves of decent reticence."

"Alton Locke" has been called "the greatest poem" and "the grandest sermon," and was highly approved of by Carlyle. It contained many passages which startled the world, just then awakening out of its comfortable sleep of selfish ease. When Kingsley accused the commercial world of cannibalism,† devouring in its greed bodies and souls of the working men, whilst they were devouring one another in the competitive struggle for employment, he appeared to exaggerate on purpose to show the worst side of things. But the impassioned rhetorical utterances of the period were the result mainly

* "Letters and Memories," vol. ii. p. 433.

† "O that I had the tongue of St. James," he writes to his wife from London in 1849, "to plead for these poor fellows! to tell what I saw myself, to stir up some rich men to go and rescue them from the tyranny of the small shopkeeping landlords who get their rents out of the flesh and blood of these men."—"Letters and Memories," vol. i. pp. 216, 217.

of an excited brain unconsciously exaggerating the danger of the hour. What Sainte-Beuve says of Lamennais was evidently true of Charles Kingsley, his mind was "oxidized by the age" he lived in.

After the storm there followed a calm, even in Kingsley's own disturbed career, and he, too, like most men under similar circumstances, reached the safe haven of contented optimism. The war-cries of his younger days grew more feeble by degrees as things improved around him.

"Hireling and Mammonite, bigot and knave,
Crawl to the battle-field, sneak to your grave."

Such was the burden of his song in the turbulent days of 1848. His muse assumed a more cheerful and less combative tone before it was finally hushed into silence. Still, Kingsley remained true to the main principles of his social philosophy, though in his method of vindicating them he grew less violent and aggressive.

It would be difficult to state in full these principles. There are passages in his social novels which almost show a tendency towards what is now called State-Socialism, as in the passage in "Yeast" quoted above. But the confession of the heroine in "Alton Locke" represents more accurately, perhaps, Kingsley's own aspirations—

"One by one every institution disappointed me. They seemed, after all, only means for keeping the poor in their degradation by making it just not intolerable to them—means for enabling Mammon to draw fresh victims into his den by taking off his hands those whom he had already worn out into uselessness. Then I tried association among my own sex—among the most miserable and degraded of them. I simply tried to put them into a position in which they might work for each other, and not for a single tyrant; in

which that tyrant's profits might be divided among the slaves themselves. Experienced men warned me that I should fail; that such a plan would be destroyed by the innate selfishness and rivalry of human nature; that it demanded what was impossible to find—good faith, fraternal love, overruling moral influence. I answered that I knew that already; that nothing but Christianity alone could supply that want, but that it could and should supply it; that I would teach them to live as sisters by living with them as a sister myself, . . . to make my workrooms, in one word, not a machinery, but a family. . . . And I have succeeded, as others will succeed, long after my name, my small endeavours are forgotten amid the great new world—new Church, I should have said—of enfranchised and fraternal labour.”*

This was Kingsley's Christian Socialism, the methods for improving society were to be divine. He knew of no universal remedy for curing social evils, nor did he believe “rising in life” to be the great panacea of happiness for the classes struggling into competency. He looked forward to a total change in their condition by means of an entire transformation of character, and a regeneration of the human heart.†

In the later stages of his Christian Socialism, Kingsley contented himself to direct his reformatory efforts against indiscriminate and inquisitorial methods of almsgiving, sanitary improvements, the education of women, and the application of science to the solution of social problems.

Those who had watched him with apprehension before now began to feel more at ease. Others who had regarded him as a great social prophet, a modern John the Baptist, imagined now they saw in him one of those

* “Alton Locke,” pp. 297, 298.

† *Ibid.*, p. 87.

clothed in soft raiment, who lived delicately in king's courts. They missed in his later utterances the haughty scorn of selfish indolence, timid avarice, the severe intolerance of the mean and weak which had characterized his early speeches and writings. He himself seems to have been fully aware of the change that had come over him, and said as much in some of his letters to his friends and in private conversation. He *had* changed with the times; when the atmosphere around him grew more cool, he, too, became more subdued in his strictures on society, and began to condone more readily its faults. He hailed gladly every well-intentioned effort (of which there were many) to improve the condition of the people, and henceforth adopted studiously the language of moderation.*

Kingsley, however, in his later development had no more sympathy with the out-and-out obstructives than in his earlier life he had agreed with the thorough-going demagogues. "Politics and political economy," he says in 1857, "may go their way for me. If I can help to save the lives of a few thousand working people and their children, I may earn the blessing of God." He acted on this principle in his own parish, endeavouring to "redeem it from barbarism." He strove with all his might to influence others in his lectures and speeches to do the same. Great was his delight when his own efforts and those of Sir Arthur Helps in this direction received recognition and support from those in power, like Lord Palmerston. It would cheer his heart now to see the great efforts made for spreading culture among "the masses," though some of the methods adopted would also raise again the old Adam within him,—but *requiescat in pace!*

* Cf. Preface to Memoir in "Alton Locke," pp. xxiv., xxv.; "Letters and Memories," vol. ii. pp. 237, 242, 394.

In "Yeast," Kingsley had already endeavoured to inculcate the lesson of true democracy, which considers the beautiful heritage of the poor as well as the rich, and Tregarva, one of the principal characters in that novel, becomes the type of "English art-hating Puritanism, which becomes gradually convinced of the Divine mission of art." The lesson has not been thrown away on those whom it most concerned. It has been acknowledged since that the true communism is that of ideal goods: "The British Museum is a truly equalizing place, in the deepest and more spiritual sense." Many of the "safe men," who were so much shocked by Kingsley's attitude at that time, have since gone much further than he did in the direction of spreading sweetness and light among the labouring poor. Penny-readings—inaugurated first, we believe, by him in his parish—have been superseded by a larger number of superior intellectual and artistic enjoyments, to relieve the tedium and the depressing monotony of factory labour in

"Sunless cities, and the very haunts
Of smoke-grimed labour, and foul revelry."

In matters of sanitary science Kingsley, as in everything else he took up, was too sanguine; as, for example, when he says, in 1857, "I shall try henceforth to teach sound theology through physics." But many who may doubt the soundness of his theology, as well as this novel instrument of thought in religious speculation, and many more who may neither care for the matter nor the manner of Kingsley's theological teaching, will assign to him, nevertheless, a high place among those who, in a practical way, have become "saviours of society." *

* Several instances occur in the "Letters and Memories" of his life to show some important results from their efforts. See vol. ii. pp. 387, 389, 391, *et passim*. Also *cf.* "Sanitary and Social Lectures and Essays," republished by Charles Kingsley (London, 1880).

This brings us to the conclusion of the matter—the question as to the real value of Kingsley's agitation in its ultimate results.

The main object of the Christian Socialists, in the first instance, was the substitution of co-operation for competition, association in the place of isolated enterprise, the organization of labour instead of the scattered efforts of social units, in the general struggle for existence. In this effort the Christian Socialists were not successful; they have not been able to avert "the horrible catastrophe of a Manchester ascendancy." Free competition, for better or for worse, prevails as before, and co-operation is only feebly and slowly struggling into existence, as the new principle of industry. The associations established by the Christian Socialists have disappeared after a short-lived existence; nor have the terrible things come to pass in consequence, which Kingsley expected in 1852.* But this is partly owing to the legislative measures in favour of co-operative societies passed in Parliament mainly through the influence of the Christian Socialists and their friends, and partly on account of the growing tendency of friendly and concerted action between the masters and the men, as well as the slow but steady development of self-help among the working classes themselves. Kingsley lived long enough to observe the practical failures of some of his schemes; but he was also shrewd enough to foresee the ultimate triumph of the principles he had advocated, as he says in the last words of the *Christian Socialist*, when it came to an end—

"The proper impulse has been given,
Wait a little longer."

Taking it, all in all, the life and work of Kingsley

* See "Letters and Memories," vol. i. pp. 314, 315.

were alike interesting and most useful. As the author of "The Saint's Tragedy," "Yeast," "Alton Locke," as the "Chartist Parson," in his poems and occasional letters, as the sanitary reformer and advocate of co-operation, preaching in his latter days the gospel of godliness and cleanliness, as the influential university professor inspiring the young with noble ideals, as the type of a happy father in the bright cheerfulness of his home-life, and as the genial companion of a large and select circle of friends and acquaintances, who to this very day bear record to the attraction of his personal intercourse,—Kingsley exercised a healthy influence on his immediate surroundings and the outer world, where he was chiefly known by his books of fiction.

Some few of his dreams have been realized. Some of his schemes for the regeneration of society have proved premature. The lesson of his life is contained in the words which ever cheered him both in success and failure—" *Work and despair not !* "

CHAPTER IV.

LAMENNAIS AND KINGSLEY: A COMPARISON AND A CONTRAST.

WHAT lends a special interest to the phenomenon to which we draw attention in these pages, *i.e.* the growing *rapprochement*, during the last fifty years, between the Church and the working classes in the three principal countries of Western Europe, is the striking similarity in thought and expression of the typical representatives of the movement. Lamennais and Kingsley, Archbishop Ketteler, the leader of the so-called Ultramontane Internationale, and the Protestant Court-chaplain Stöcker, all have the same object in view, namely, to bring about a fusion between Clericalism and Socialism, or rather to bring into action the spiritual factor of religion in the composition of social forces and in the solution of social problems. Nor is this a purely Utopian scheme of the clerical mind. Political economists, like M. de Laveleye, and independent thinkers like the author of the "History of Materialism," Lange, have arrived independently at similar conclusions. Lange, referring to the threatened decay of our modern society, similar to that of ancient civilizations, and for analogous reasons, mentions among the principal remedies to avert a social revolution the revival of the Christian idea to work out social reforms. "One of the most important

remedies," to use his own words, "is to be found, undoubtedly, in *the ideas of Christianity*, the moral effects of which have been as often underrated by some, as they have been exaggerated by others." *

We have seen this already in the brief review of the life and work of two such prominent Christian Socialists as Lamennais and Kingsley, contained in the two previous chapters. But this identity of aims admits of various modes of application, and there we may see contrasts also quite as striking as the resemblances. And this is specially true of two such men as Lamennais and Kingsley, and from a comparison of their lives and work in this chapter we may be able to form a fair estimate of the religious influence on the social movement in two countries differing in so many respects as England and France. It may also indirectly show what should be the proper attitude of the clerical order towards social politics at this crucial juncture in the history of ecclesiastical establishments.

[Nowhere in Europe is the social influence of the clergy more marked than in the two countries represented by Lamennais and Kingsley. Their lives have therefore not only a dramatic but also a didactic interest when regarded from this point of view. Separated from each other by strong personal characteristics and racial peculiarities, as well as by local and national circumstances and events, Kingsley and Lamennais bear, nevertheless, a striking resemblance to each other. This is rendered all the more remarkable by the fact that, though both start with the same religious aspirations, they pass through a similar circuit of ideas and efforts in the reverse order, and are, of necessity, landed in opposite extremes at the close of their eventful career.

* Fr. A. Lange, "Geschichte des Materialismus," vol. ii. p. 484, *et seq.*

Lamennais begins public life as the staunch defender of Ultramontanism, then passing through the several stages of religious Liberalism and Christian Socialism, foiled in all his attempts of "saving society," dies as an irreconcilable opponent of the existing powers in Church and State. Kingsley, starting as a social reformer, with the ardour of young-mannish Radicalism and intensified religious enthusiasm, more successful in his attempts, though at first opposed by the reactionary party, ends his days, according to a wish expressed in one of his letters, as "the quietest theologian." It is interesting to trace the causes and consequences of these personal mutations as influenced by, and influencing in return, contemporary events. For in the life of these two remarkable men we see, so to speak, reflected the ebb and flow of the social movement in this century of revolutions; whilst the coincidences and differences in their respective careers reflect the identity and divergence of social evolution in the two countries to which they belong.

We proceed, then, to note the contrasts as well as the coincidences in character and training, and the composite forces of their social environment, so as to account for the wide discrepancy in the sum total of results in their personal life and public usefulness. Whatever may be the conclusion arrived at under this head, success in their case, from whatever cause, can only enhance, whilst failure, whatever may be its dark significance, cannot diminish, the interest attached to their unselfish nature and noble aspirations.

Gifted both with an ardent and affectionate temperament, a sincere love of truth, and scornful hatred of injustice, they were alike prone to polemical aggressiveness, which at once provoked bitter opposition among

the defenders of the old, and sympathetic attention among those of the new order of things. [In both Lamennais and Kingsley we have the same admixture of humility and audacity, the charm of natural simplicity which attracts friends and attaches disciples, and the leonine defiance of falsities and wrongs which repels time-serving neutrals and opponents.] In both, too, we observe the "passionate limitation of view" which looks on human affairs from the ideal standpoint of social reformers, rather than the realistic standpoint of social politicians or economic thinkers. This often impels them to dwell on social wrongs with the forcefulness of undisciplined exaggeration—a fault only partly corrected in Kingsley by his quasi-scientific habits of thought and social sympathies. [Both men were "emphatic and intense," because in their way of looking at human affairs they were guided rather by poetic intuition than accurate processes of reasoning.] But the love of nature, which was shared alike by both, produced different effects in either—a feeling of joyous exuberance in Kingsley, exercising a sanitative influence on his modes of thought; whilst in Lamennais it produced a habitual tendency to sombre sadness less easily reconciled with the facts of life. The same natural bent leads Kingsley to find consolation in the "beautiful phantasms" of Greek philosophy, whilst Lamennais seeks refuge in the romantic mysticism of the Neo-Catholic School of Germany.

We might go further, and show how the influence of climate and surroundings shaped the characters of the two men who played such a prominent part in the history of their own times. We might show how Lamennais, born on the coast of Brittany, which is washed, like Ireland, by the "melancholy ocean," and spending his

boyhood in the gloomy solitude of La Chenaie, acquired those habits of morose misanthropy which, added to the inherited taciturn stubbornness of the Breton, produced that *haine eloquente* in his writings which was the principal cause at once of his notoriety and final failure. On the other hand, we might show how Kingsley, receiving the early impressions of extended freedom from the "shining meres and golden reed-beds" of the Great Fen, where he was born, and the spirit of joyous sprightliness from the bright and stirring environs of Clovelly, where he spent part of his boyhood, acquired there that breadth of view and cheerfulness of disposition which enabled him throughout life to go on "whistling and working" and cracking his "Pantagrueist jokes" in the midst of depressing circumstances. His domestic habits, social instincts, and love of out-door sports form another contrast to the hermit-like austerity of Lamennais, who spent greater part of his childhood in the library of an eccentric uncle, and under the influence of an elder brother who was a religious recluse.

Resembling one another in spiritual disposition, they both pass through similar stages of religious development; both have their season of scepticism and severe struggles with the lower self, culminating in a more solemn sense of personal responsibility. Both turn to the ministry as their vocation, and become, after some hesitation as to their proper calling, "every inch a priest." Soon, however, the contrast becomes marked between the Celt and the Teuton. The English Broad-Churchman allied, as Parson Lot, with Maurice and his small band of Christian Socialists, engrossed with pastoral occupations in his country living, and cheered by the prospect of literary fame, fulfils his vocation with the vigorous earnestness of his nature, until, after a manly struggle and trials

nobly borne, he finds a resting-place in a Canonry of Westminster Abbey, closing his career as the favourite of the Court, the loved companion of the cultured, and the friend of the people. Lamennais, "the most illustrious ecclesiastic of his times," as Lacordaire once called him, on the other hand, is engaged in endless ecclesiastical controversies, now with Gallicanism, then with Ultramontanism, and after being discarded by Royalists and Jesuits alike, takes up the popular cause, and, unsuccessful from first to last in his attempt of "spiritualizing society," resentfully retires from the contest, and thus

"From his height and loneliness of grief
 dashed his angry heart
 Against the desolations of the world."

Both Lamennais and Kingsley were, so to speak, children of the Revolution. They were like stripling trees planted in the soil during a raging storm. Society was in a surging state of insurrection when they reached their stage of consciousness. The Bristol riots of 1831 affected Kingsley as profoundly as the private mass, celebrated in secret for fear of the revolutionary persecution, had produced the most indelible impression on Lamennais' childish mind in the previous generation. The former gave, as he confesses, that Radical bent to Kingsley's mind which, in spite of his aristocratic prepossessions, made him first generously embrace the people's cause and adhere to it in one form or another throughout life. The latter inspired that bitter hatred against every species of tyranny which manifests itself successively in Lamennais' reactionary defence of Church authority, his reformatory efforts as a liberal ecclesiastic, and his later Republicanism as the exponent of democracy.

The ultimate results in both cases were widely

different. At the grave of Kingsley the worth and work of the man were recognized to the full by representatives of every section of society—Churchmen and Dissenters, Roman Catholics and Protestants, soldiers and sailors, delegates of trades' unions and deputations of scientific societies, simple country-people and men of rank, courtiers and gipsies—men of mark from both sides of the Atlantic stand by that grave to mourn over the loss of a great and good man.*

Now mark the melancholy scene of Lamennais' funeral! On a foggy, gloomy day in February, he is borne in a pauper's hearse to the *Cimetière de l'Est*, to be buried in a poor man's grave. The mournful procession passes through two files of police, drawn up, not as a guard of honour, but to prevent a popular *émeute*. Only eight persons accompanied Lamennais' remains to their last resting-place, Béranger among the rest. There are no funeral obsequies; not even a wooden cross to mark the spot which receives what remains of the once defender of the Faith. Such had been his express desire. The world of Paris treats with indifference the end of the man whose burning words in "*Paroles d'un Croyant*" had electrified Europe. It is true he wished to be buried in this humble manner to give a last touching proof of his affection to the Proletariat, but he never imagined he would die thus unmourned and nearly forgotten by the general public. "What does it matter, after all?" says M. Blaize, in the biography of his uncle, "where his ashes rest! His name will live blessed in the people's memory, shining with the aureole both of genius and virtue."

What a contrast in the estimate formed by their

* See Max Müller's reminiscences of the funeral: "Charles Kingsley: Letters and Memories of his Life," vol. ii. p. 464.

countrymen of Kingsley and Lamennais at the close of their career!—what a contrast in the respective position occupied by either! The once reactionary champion of the Restoration has ended as an irreconcilable Republican, and the revolutionary sympathizer of Chartism has become the mildest of social reformers. For the causes, immediate and remote, of this contrast, we must look to the external condition of things, as well as their power of adaptation, and take into consideration the play of progressive and retrogressive tendencies of the times in the countries to which they belonged. For these, as well as their mental and educational bent, brought about the great divergence in principles and methods to be examined presently, and which in their turn led to personal results thus utterly unlike when their chivalrous crusade against social abuses came to a close.

It was Lamennais' fate to see three revolutionary waves pass over his country, and to watch with sorrow and bitterness of heart the disappointments to which they gave rise. He had seen the sore distress of the people whose condition the political changes of the first Revolution left to all intents and purposes unimproved. It had, in fact, given rise to new social grievances. In destroying patriarchal relationships and feudal bonds of social union, it had handed over the masses to the tender mercies of free contract and competition. The introduction of machinery with the rise of modern industry had a pauperizing effect, and intensified popular discontent. Hence the various Socialistic and Communistic schemes for the liberation of the working classes from the "tyranny of capital," and the attempts to promote the free association of labour by means of voluntary co-operation, following in the wake of the Revolution.

Every section of society was represented in this revolt against the excessive individualism of the *laissez-faire* system as the result of the new "social contract." Among the saviours of society who rose rapidly one after another—St. Simon on the part of aristocratic *crétins* impoverished by the Revolution,—Fourier as the spokesman of the aggrieved lower middle-class, in danger of being crushed by the superior force of the Plutocracy,—Babeuf representing the communistic materialism of the "common people"—each in their own way had their theories of social reconstruction. The same tendency made itself felt among the leaders of opinion generally. Comte and Pierre Leroux became the exponents of philosophical altruism and speculative humanitarianism, respectively; whilst a small band of generously-minded Churchmen, with Lamennais at their head, made it their object to save society by means of spiritual regeneration. They changed their programme with the varying exigencies of the hour; but throughout the whole course of their religious development, the same object remained definitely before their mind—viz., to bring about a reconciliation between science and religion, and between religion and social life. In this attempt to resuscitate religion as a social power, they were favoured by circumstances. The former uneasy state of the public mind in the unsettled condition of things during the revolutionary period, had given way to a yearning for inner peace, and a reaction in favour of Church authority set in rapidly. After the Revolution of July, the popularity of the Romish Church was enhanced by the fact that it made opposition against an unpopular Government, and the aggressiveness of the dominant middle-class during the reign of the "Bourgeois" king. According to Lamennais' view, the social anarchy of *laissez-faire* was to be

reduced to order by the Divine voice of authority, and the "chaos of ignorance and hunger" was to give place to a social cosmos at the Divine fiat of the Catholic Church. [Christianity was to become the *force organatrice* to collect together the scattered units of society into a grand labour association independent of the hegemony of capital.] In his essay on "Indifference in matters of Religion" he had claimed absolute obedience to authority as "the Soul and sustaining force of the Universe," without which "there is no existence, no truth, no order."

And as force is subject to law, so the State must be subordinate to the voice of the Church: but only because the Church of St. Peter, as no other power, rests on the sovereign will of the people. This remarkable concession to popular rights would naturally pave the way for an alliance between Papal Authority and Democracy.

"God and Liberty" was the device chosen for the organ which Lamennais founded, in conjunction with Lacordaire and Montalembert, for disseminating these views and cementing the union between Clericalism and Socialism in France. The cautious gentlemen of the Roman Curia, however, dreaded this unhallowed union, and perhaps still more so the danger of coming into conflict with Monarchical absolutism in Europe at the time. The publication of *L'Avenir* failed to secure the Papal approval, though it was announced to be a work "at once catholic and national, from which ought to be expected the enfranchisement of religion and the reconciliation of different minds, and, in consequence, the renewal of society."

The second volume of the "Essay" had already aroused orthodox susceptibilities. Lamennais went to

Rome to plead his own cause, and was received "with joy" by Pope Leo XII., who had even his portrait hung up in his reception-room at the Vatican.

But Gregory XVI. was not so easily pacified by personal explanations during the second visit, for the advanced Democratic tendency of Lamennais and his friends expressed in the motto of *L'Avenir*, "*Séparez vous des rois, tendez la main au peuple,*" alarmed the Church politicians of the Holy City. The treatment he had received in Rome had offended Lamennais; [the Pope's Encyclical (August 15, 1832), which indirectly condemned *L'Avenir*, came upon him as a heavy blow, from which he did not recover.

"Catholicism was my own life, because it is the life of humanity," he writes in one of his letters. "I wished to defend it, and draw it from the abyss into which it sinks more and more daily. Nothing was easier. The bishops have found that it would not suit them. Thus Rome lagged behind. I went there and saw the most abominable *cloaque* which ever offended human eyesight. . . . No other God rules there but egotism. For a piece of land, for a few piastres, they would bargain away the nations, the whole human race, even the blessed Trinity."

It was this which brought about the sudden revulsion in Lamennais' religious ideas.) In his utter isolation, forsaken by legitimate Bourbons and liberal Orleanists, regarded with suspicion by the Gallican clergy at home, and the Jesuits in Rome, he becomes the Apostle of Democracy.

Scarcely a year after his unsuccessful journey to Rome he publishes "*Les Paroles d'un Croyant*"—"a work of great perversity," as it is styled by the Roman Pontiff. Here Lamennais depicts with the enthusiasm of poetic penetration, and the agonies of a wounded

spirit, all the sorrows and sufferings of the poor as they are viewed by a sensitive mind, and raises a loud and bitter cry against their rulers. [In his later works, "Affaires de Rome," and "Livre du Peuple," the rupture between him and the Roman hierarchy becomes complete, and his theories of social amelioration no longer rest on an ecclesiastical but a purely philosophical basis.] In one of his latest works, "Discussions, Critiques, et Pensées Diverses sur la Religion et Philosophie," he denies the supernatural altogether.

The Revolution of 1848 finds him ready to take up the people's cause with great enthusiasm, but he proves to be a poor politician and "mediocre journalist." Yet he sees more clearly than some of his contemporaries the insincerity of the Government in making tools of the people: "Après avoir obtenu de lui ce-qu'on en voulait on le brisera, et, devenu l'objet de la risée publique, on jettera son cadavre dans la fosse où, non loin des traîtres, dorment les imbéciles et les lâches."

On the 11th of July, his organ, *Le Peuple Constituant*, appears with a black border, and the words, "Le peuple constituant a commencée avec la république, il finit avec la république." Another abortive effort in the *Réforme* closes Lamennais' career as an agitator, and though he survives the *coup d'état* by a few years, these are spent in silent brooding. He turns to the congenial task of studying Dante's "Commedia," an introduction to which, as well as a translation of some parts of the New Testament, form the peaceful occupation of his latter days.

The utter want of repose in the impatient efforts of his life leave an unpleasant impression in the mind of his most sympathetic biographers; but it is the tempest of the outer world that we see reflected in Lamennais'

soul. (Religious reaction in conflict with infidelity, the restoration grappling with the spirit of revolt, the rising *bourgeoisie* struggling with the growing forces of the Socialist insurrection—these are all mirrored in the personal life and work of Lamennais.) The elemental forces of the social revolution were raging in that “strong soul in a narrow mind.” Lamennais, with a zealot’s eloquence, and a prophet’s daring; with the religious intensity of a Tertullian, with the reformer’s intrepidity of a Luther, and with the revolutionary inspiration of a Rousseau, raises his voice against corruption in high places, and pronounces woes over an effete royalism, profane liberalism, and hollow ecclesiasticism, until, having spent his force in these loud denunciations, like the prophets of old, with whom he has been compared, he closes with a few consolatory promises of a brighter era in the regenerated society of the future.

There are gentle martyrs, like Fénelon, who, under similar circumstances, have said their say and done their work through good and evil report without passion and without prejudice, in simple self-forgetfulness, submissive yet gently dignified under adversity, rising to the sublime in silent suffering. Such men conquer by sheer force of disinterested virtue, by the charm of their sweet reasonableness, their unconscious grace and truthfulness. Their benign demeanour disarms enemies and converts the indifferent into warm friends. Like placid rivers irrigating vast plains, they fertilize the regions through which they flow in their stately calm.

There are others—turbulent, eager souls—whose quick temperament and eager intensity often overstep the boundary of moderation, as rivers swelling into torrents overflow their boundaries, disturbing communication and at times devastating the country. Conscious

of their earnestness of purpose, and impatient at the puny attempts of unjust or paltry opponents, such men readily meet force with force and craft with craft, wasting their powers in a worthless and hopeless conflict. They are rarely at ease, often exposed to danger, offending their friends, giving occasion to the enemy, always surrounded by a small band of enthusiastic followers, and a cloud of "disinterested" witnesses at a safe distance. They are a spectacle to men and angels in their lofty ire, though wasting their strength in sanguine *batailles à outrance* that lead to no victory. Their good is often evil spoken of, their rash deeds fraught not unfrequently with danger. Men see the havoc a turbulent stream in flood-time has produced, and mourn over it—its fertilizing and purifying effects are less conspicuous in attracting attention; but all men say it is a grand sight. Such was Lamennais.

In his essay on Sir Walter Raleigh, Charles Kingsley says: "By fanatics, whether military, commercial, or religious, and not by 'liberal-minded' men at all, has the world's work been done in all ages."

Was Kingsley behind Lamennais in his zeal for social reform because he was less a fanatic than a liberal-minded man? To this question we must now address ourselves. As in the case of Lamennais, we may turn to Kingsley and see, by way of comparison and contrast, how far external surroundings and circumstances shaped the man in his endeavours to shape the destiny of his Church and country. Two prevailing influences of the time—the one progressive in its tendency, the other retrogressive, and both profoundly affecting the social condition of England at the time—left their mark on Kingsley. They are frequently alluded to in his writings and speeches. The first of these—amounting almost to a revolutionary

tendency in the industrial world—was the stirring activity of what he terms, in his racy style, those “roaring, rattling, railway times,” in this progressive push-and-progress era of material advancement. This tendency of the *Zeitgeist*, though by no means regarded with favour by men of Kingsley’s stamp, yet influenced him unconsciously and against his will. It acted as an additional excitant on the lively susceptibilities of his active brain, and served as a strong incentive to that laborious energy which marked the earlier portion of his public life, when he was administering his parish with vigour, writing, reading, fishing, walking, preaching, talking, “with a twenty-parson horse-power,” as Mr. C. Kegan Paul says in one of the letters in the “Memoirs” quoted by Mrs. Kingsley. It was this influence of the age on the man, irrespective of inherited propensities, which produced that species of “muscular Christianity” of which Kingsley has become the type, though he personally disliked and disowned the appellation.

The other tendency alluded to above had an exasperating rather than exciting effect on Kingsley—namely, the persistent determination on the part of the governing classes to blink bare facts in the social world, and to seek, as he thought, refuge in reactionary temporizing.

“This is a puling, quill-driving, soft-handed age—among our own rank, I mean. Cowardice is called meekness; to temporize is to be charitable and reverent; to speak truth and shame the devil is to offend weak brethren, who, somehow or other, never complain of their weak consciences till you hit them hard.” *

But if excited unconsciously to greater rapidity of action in his endeavour to move with the times, and exasperated into quickness of speech by the irritating slowness of his

* Prefatory Memoir to “Alton Locke,” p. xxi.

fellows, (that which gave both momentum and direction to his main efforts towards social reform was the critical state of the country and the menacing attitude of what were then called the "lower orders," as manifested in Chartism.) As Lamennais, with characteristic energy, during his first visit at the Vatican, asked as a special favour of the Pope dispensation from the daily exercises of the Breviary to find more time for practical work, so Kingsley, taking for his motto "Work and Worship," throws himself into the movement with all the fervour of his intense nature. Like Lamennais, despising the discretion of dulness in his more cautious and conventional brethren of the clergy, he startles the religious world by his probably unpremeditated confession at the Cranbourne Tavern meeting:—"I am a Church of England parson, and a Chartist." With Kingsley it was the first, as with Lamennais it was the last, step to throw himself heart and soul on the sympathy of the working classes.

(The course of events in France had, in the case of Lamennais, who was by thirty-seven years Kingsley's senior, brought about successive changes of personal conviction, which we have noticed already, causing a change of front from extreme reactionary Ultramontanist to anti-sacerdotal socialism.) A contrary course of events in England accounts in a similar manner for Kingsley's change of front from Radical Socialism to a peaceful acquiescence in the existing order of things, resting his hopes rather on the effectual though slow cure of social abuses by social reform than the effects of slap-dash changes. In France, the continued struggle of social forces had culminated in a social democratic revolution which collapsed in an abortive attempt to organize labour by authority. In England, during the same period of intermittent social agitation, tardy but effectual reforms,

introduced, not at the bidding of insurrectionary forces, but according to the expressed public opinion of the nation, led to a more satisfactory solution of events.

In many respects, indeed, the circumstances of both countries bore a strong resemblance to each other. Like causes had produced like effects in the social discontents of 1848. In both countries the industrial changes effected by steam, and other scientific discoveries, by the rapid spread of education, and the emancipation of the press, by the growing political power of the middle class and diminished influence of landed aristocracy, had produced a strong democratic current. Bad harvests in country districts, and distress among the wage labourers in overcrowded towns, produced dissatisfaction verging on rebellion. "These Radicalisms, Chartisms, Reform Bill, Tithe Bill, and infinite other discrepancy, and acrid argument and jargon that there is yet to be, are *our* French Revolution," Carlyle had said in 1839. Ten years later the prayer he added was answered: "God grant that we, with our better methods, may be able to transact it by argument alone." *

The Chartist demonstration at Kennington Common proved a fiasco, and the 10th. of April, which was to have been a repetition of the February revolution in Paris, passed away quietly enough. It showed the superior stability of a Government resting on public support, and the superior safety of a society which does not ignore the just claims of its weaker members. (But in a great measure it was owing to men like Kingsley and the Christian Socialists, under the intellectual leadership of F. D. Maurice, that the nation was aroused to a sense of its duty during this social crisis.)

What St. Beuve says of Lamennais' mission of

* "Miscellaneous Essays," vol. vi. p. 137.

awakening society from its Epicurean dream of slothful indifference to social grievances, is true also of Kingsley and his school.

(In "Yeast" he calls the state of the country "ominous," and speaks of the economic relations of society as utterly rotten and confused.) He angrily asks: "Is not every man who allows such things hastening the ruin of the society in which he lives, by helping to foster the indignation and fury of its victims?" He treats with ridicule the "Franklin-Benthamite religion," with its prophecies of smooth things, and appeals to the clergy not to connive at the faults of the governing classes; but, in his memorable sermon on the "Message of the Church to the Labouring Man," he says: "I assert that the business for which God sends a Christian priest in a Christian nation is, to preach freedom, equality, and brotherhood in the fullest, deepest, widest meaning of these three great words."

No wonder "Parson Lot," in his drastic method of stating things, using strong language, as he afterwards confesses with regret, for the purpose of "shocking, startling, and defying," and hitting as hard as he could, gave alarm to timid sympathizers, and provoked severe criticism from opponents, sometimes not only unmerciful but also unfair, especially when it came from the steady-going Churchmen whose "safe policy" consisted mainly in doing nothing, and who endeavoured to combine Talleyrand's *surtout point de zèle* principle in clerical ethics, with the comforting optimism of the *laissez-faire* school in economics, as far as they understood it, which was not very far.

"His life and conversation," said Dean Stanley, in his funeral oration on Kingsley, "as he walked among ordinary men, was often as of a waker among drowsy

sleepers." Sleepers of this sort do not always like to be disturbed in their slumbers, and often answer the caller with a growl. So did they. Presently they had the satisfaction of seeing Kingsley take a little rest himself, and then they spoke well of him.

[Again, like his hero, Launcelot, Kingsley was in the habit of thinking only in concrete form, and accordingly chose the dramatic mode of expressing his ideas.] This, as in the case of Lamennais, produced the declamatory style, and is most apparent in "Cheap Clothes and Nasty," and some well-known passages in "Alton Locke." This was partly owing to what he called "my blessed habit of intensity," which differed, however, from the "intense logic" peculiar to the Celtic intellect, which led Lamennais astray beyond recovery. Both had the same qualities of fancy, imagination, and self-will, and both were guilty at times of fallacies of exclusiveness and exaggeration. But Kingsley, even in the most exciting period of agitation, preserved a serenity of mind, calm composure, and tone of moderation, which contrast very favourably with the contemporaneous utterances of his more irascible French neighbour.*

[At first, indeed, he is loud in his denunciations against starvation wages, stifling workshops, reeking alleys, roofless and crowded cottages, careless landlords, and heartless employers of labour under the "sweating system."] These receive no mercy at his hand. "Laws, constitutions, churches, are none . . . if they tolerate such; they are accursed and they must perish—destroy what they may in their fall. Nay they *will* perish in their own corruption."

* Cf. Mrs. Kingsley's remarks in "Letters and Memories," vol. i. p. 162, and the letters she quotes there with a view to clear her husband's memory from the charge of intemperate language in connection with the Chartists.

But as the fervid atmosphere around him cooled down, and he saw the world improving (perhaps a little less so than he imagined it did)—as controversial bitterness became less rancorous and the clerical organs even adopted a kindlier tone towards him (awed into respect by his newly acquired dignities)—as the self-healing forces in society made themselves distinctly felt, and events began to vindicate the justice of his reformatory efforts, the acrimonious tone of his former speeches and writing made room for calm and gentle remonstrance. In short, as he succeeded in conquering opposition by the persuasiveness of truth, so he, too, was conquered by the kindly appreciation of his services, and the general course of events making towards social progress. Thus, in the preface to a later edition of "Alton Locke," dedicated to the undergraduates of Cambridge, he congratulates his young friends on the improved state of things, the changed attitude of the upper classes, the progress of sanitary reform, the increased reverence for law, increased contentment with existing institutions, and increased confidence in the classes above them, bred among the working classes by the kindly efforts of gentlemen and ladies of all shades of opinion for thirty years past. In a similar tone of conciliation and congratulation he speaks in the preface of a later edition of "Yeast," which, more especially on its first appearance, had incurred severe criticism because of its radical tendency. Here he refers to the influence of the clergy in social life, and the growth of self-help and independence among the labourers in consequence of improved poor laws.

Referring to the Anglican movement, frequently and boldly attacked in the book, he now speaks of the seed sown in young hearts by it, which "will develop at least

into a virtue more stately and reverent, more chivalrous and self-sacrificing, more genial and human, than can be learned from that religion of the Stock Exchange—for a year and a day—in the popular pulpits.”

This calm before sunset in Kingsley's life is in strange contrast with the sad close of Lamennais' career. It would be interesting to inquire what Kingsley might have done if the Church of England had denounced him officially, as Mr. Drew did most officiously on the occasion of the sermon to which we have already alluded. If, instead of heaping upon him honours and prizes of a substantial nature, she had subjected him, as the Papacy did Lamennais, to humiliation and disgrace, would Kingsley, under such circumstances, have produced a work like "*Paroles d'un Croyant*"? He possessed both the ability and temperament for such a task. But his English training, and inherited tendencies, in spite of his impatient philanthropy, make the supposition improbable. If Kingsley was perhaps incapable of rising with Lamennais to the same height of dignified serenity after a series of defeats and defamations, his superior power of self-discipline would prevent him, on the other hand, from giving way to those vehement explosions of anger and pity, tenderness and wrath, which abound in this volume, where sublime visions and weird denunciations, sanguine maledictions and ineffable promises, are so strangely commingled.

(Lamennais' way of dividing all mankind into black and white, angels and demons, marks an absence of critical acumen.) In judging nature, he cannot divest himself of the habits of thought acquired in the seminary and a solitary life. Kingsley, though sometimes exhibiting a spirit of contemptuous intolerance towards those whom he imagined to be enemies to social progress, was

far too large-hearted and broad-minded to be confined by such a narrow range of view. Both men, from the intensity of their disposition, were naturally prone to those " *brusques changements,*" of which Lamennais was accused, and which called forth the remark from him : "Je plaindrai l'homme qui n'aurait jamais changé." But then, we are told by M. Renan that he hated the next day the very convictions he had held the day before. This shows a want of mental balance, the partial absence of the "philosophic mind." His eager sympathetic nature must plunge into active politics, he must have a coterie of followers blindly following at his heels—he cannot rest. Such men are apt to change often and sincerely, but not always discreetly and in the right direction. Kingsley's opinions, too, underwent considerable changes ; but they came on more gradually. Some have found it hard to reconcile these "inconsistencies." His change of front has been frequently alluded to as a sign of weakness of character, unable to resist the allurements of Court favour. Thus a false interpretation has been put on his motives by those who, in their love of consistency, forget the well-known aphorism, we believe, of Lord Macaulay, that men who never change must be either inspired angels or unmitigated fools. Those who neither claim infallibility with the former, nor intellectual relationship with the latter, make allowance for the mellowing effects of years and experience on human nature, as well as the convincing power of the logic of events in teaching the salutary lesson of moderation. They know that increased caution does not of necessity imply diminished candour, that philosophical repose in the solution of social problems ought not to be confounded with timid reaction, that friendship with the rulers does not mean disloyalty

towards the ruled, that the greatest teachers of mankind, like Shakespeare and Dante, in the last efforts of their matured genius, have spoken in accents of hope, rather than despair, and have risen above the turmoil of inner agitation and contention with the world into the serener atmosphere of tolerance with the shortcomings of man and society.

To recapitulate the several points of contact and disagreement between Kingsley and Lamennais in their methods of social improvement, before we conclude in estimating the immediate and remoter results of their work.

(Both Kingsley and Lamennais are deeply impressed with the lamentable condition of the labouring classes, and the futile attempts to improve it by a mere extension of political freedom.) Both are loud in their denunciations against the "Midas-eared Mammonism" of the middle class, and the atheistic animalism of the lower. Both demand a new organization of labour, based on ethical principles, as distinguished from the leave-alone creed of the orthodox economists. (Both hold up a Divine standard for regulating industrial relationship, in the place of the so-called natural laws of supply and demand.) Both aim at uniting employer and employed by the bonds of friendship and mutual help, in lieu of the "claims of mutual necessity alone." Both are believers in the Christian idea as a power to regenerate society, the "splendour of God" to brighten our industrial age,* especially in its mission of conferring dignity

* The object of the *Christian Socialist*, the organ of the Maurice and Kingsley school, was stated to be "the practical application of Christianity to the purposes of trade and commerce." It contains many articles signed by Kingsley as "Parson Lot." Many of these deserve reprinting, as throwing light upon the history of those times, especially as few copies of the publications are to be had at any price. There is no copy in the British Museum Library, and the present writer is indebted

on work and eliminating poverty "as the child of sin." Both inveigh strongly against the comfortable sanctimoniousness of the well-to-do classes, and the hypocrisies of the hard Manchester school. Both recognize the fact of the growth of Democracy, and dwell on the duty of the Church in directing this movement in the face of the manifest impossibility of checking it.

But, whilst agreeing in these leading principles on the constitution of society, and the necessity of social reforms, they differ widely from each other and from themselves in different epochs of their life as to the means and methods of realizing their social ideals. We note three such epochs in the public life of each, marking in the one case the growing tendency towards, and in the other the growing departure from, revolutionary, as distinguished from reformatory methods for remedying social grievances. In Lamennais we have—

1. The reactionary period, when he figures as the defender of the *ancien régime*, attacking Democracy and predicting the death of the Revolution at the foot of the Cross.

2. The reformatory period, when he seeks to effect an alliance between Liberalism and the Papal authority, but fails, owing to the time-serving hesitation of the Roman Court, and the turn of public affairs in France.

3. Compelled by circumstances once more to shift his ground, he reaches the last stage of development, which amounts to a revolt against the sacerdotal and monarchical *régime* alike. Changing thus the Liberal for the Radical, the royalist for the republican platform, Lamennais pronounces in favour of the supreme sovereignty of the people.

to Mr. Thomas Hughes for the loan of a copy of this interesting publication, one of the very few still extant.

Kingsley began where Lamennais had ended, and passed through the three stages—the Revolutionary, the Reformatory, followed by the period of Reconciliation. He begins as the apostle of Christian Socialism, and, as Parson Lot, is steeped in the “Salt-asphaltic lake of Polemics,” during the years of 1848–55. Thence he emerges, sobered by events, into a calmer state of mind.

“Graviter commotus, et alto

Prospiciens summa placidum caput extulit unda.”

He becomes the leader of the Reform party, and opens a crusade against dirt and bad drainage, the advocate of sanitary reform.

“As years went on,” writes his biographer, “he devoted time, thought, and influence more and more to sanitary science; the laws of health and the enfranchisement of men’s bodies from disease and dirt, and their inevitable consequences of sin, misery, and physical, if not spiritual, death, because more important in his eyes than any political reforms.”

But so far from abandoning all former social aspirations, he only begins now to recognize the fact that their realization depends on the moral improvement of the masses, and the growth of altruistic self-denial among the higher classes. The co-operative “associations” founded by the Christian Socialists are a failure, he thinks, because the working men are not fit for them yet. At the same time he disallows the ruling tenet of the *laissez-faire* system, which lets chance and selfishness rule the fortunes of the human race. Then, speaking of Maurice’s scheme, he adds—

“Now, as for any schemes of Maurice’s or mine—it is a slight matter whether they failed or not. But this I say, because I believe that the failure of a hundred schemes

would not alter my conviction, that they were attempts in the right direction; and I shall die in hope, not having received the promises, but beholding them afar off, and confessing myself a stranger and a pilgrim in a world of *laissez-faire*. For it is my belief that not self-interest but self-sacrifice is the only law upon which human society can be grounded with any hope of prosperity and permanence." *

Thus Kingsley, like Lamennais, in the second and most healthy period of their social agitation, looks for the salvation of society in the apotheosis of self-sacrifice.

At last Kingsley becomes reconciled with the existing order of things. Still in principle there was no real inconsistency. (He remained all along an aristocrat sympathizing with the wants of the people, whilst Lamennais had been throughout a popular demagogue, though sometimes without knowing it.) In 1848, indeed, Kingsley was supposed to be a revolutionist, as many have been since, who have spoken above a whisper on burning social questions of the hour. It was entirely owing to want of discernment on the part of the intelligent public. With Lamennais, he recognizes the fact: "Le monde d'aujourd'hui est travaillé d'insurmountable besoin d'un ordre nouveau." But in his first democratic impulse even he recollects himself, and says, "I am no revolutionist." † So, again, in the latter portion of his life, he remains true to his earlier convictions, and, speaking of the effects of science and civilization on social amelioration in 1870, he dwells on the supreme importance of human and personal as distinguished from material and industrial interests: for man "is, after all, the most precious and useful thing in the earth, and that

* "Letters and Memories," vol. ii. p. 37, *et seq.*

† *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 141, *et seq.* Also cf. Prefatory Memoir in "Alton Locke," pp. xxiv., xxxi., and lviii.

no cost spent in the development of human beings can possibly be thrown away." *

Here, indeed, we have none of the restless impetuosity of the revolutionary period. The ardent aspirations of youth have changed with the ripening of mind and heart in manhood. Years and experience have taught him the right method of uniting progressive effort with order in the slow evolution of society. With the disappearance of the season of acute struggles, Kingsley's demands for social reform become less emphatic, though his efforts and sympathies have grown no less earnest. The age which had produced the mental agitation reflected in his "Saint's Tragedy," or some of the poems of 1848, had passed away, and with it the excessive combativeness of this "joyous knight-errant of God, thirsting for labour and for strife." His work was done.

A generation has now passed away since the Socialistic agitation in which Lamennais and Kingsley took such a prominent part, and it is not premature to form some estimate of the work accomplished by them, and from it deduce one or two practical lessons.

The immediate result, in both cases, was to inspire a number of young men in both countries with an ardent wish to improve the condition of the working classes. This was to be effected, not by means of petting and pauperizing the peasant, which was the dream of the *jeunesse dorée*, led by Benjamin Disraeli, nor by means of organizing factory labourers under the captains of industry, suggested by Lamennais' former friend, Comte, but by means of moral elevation, creating feelings of independence and self-respect, and by means of religious union to reorganize industry. Besides this influence on

* "Letters and Memories," vol. ii. pp. 323, 324, *loc. cit.*

young men, the work of Lamennais and Kingsley had remoter consequences, setting on foot the movement, which has since been growing steadily in both countries, having for its object the bringing together of the Church and the working men. Though Lamennais' proposals to the Roman Curia were rejected at the time, the policy of the Roman Church since has been on the lines thus laid down by himself; so much so that the threatened alliance between Clericalism and Socialism in France and Germany forms a very important factor in modern politics. In England; the Christian Socialists, in the absence of anything like ecclesiastical centralization and independent Church action, and in the absence, too, of acute social disorders, have not produced such marked effect. Still, the isolated efforts of the clergy, such as John Ll. Davies, Canon Girdlestone, the late Dean Stanley, and the late Bishop of Manchester, as well as the attention given to social subjects, and even Socialism itself, in Church Congress and Conferences, and the selection of Socialism as one of the principal subjects to be discussed at the forthcoming Pan-Anglican Synod, may in part be attributed to the pioneering work done by the Maurician movement, of which Kingsley was the most popular exponent. These may be small results of so much activity, but who shall say what may be the ultimate effects of a tendency still in its initial stage, and struggling against adverse forces both in the Church and in the world! Already philanthropic legislation in favour of the working people, and the establishment of national health societies, Kyrle societies, and similar institutions for the elevation of the masses, bear witness to the indirect influences of Christian Socialism at home and abroad. Of the later efforts of Christian Socialists, we shall treat in a future chapter.

It is true, neither Lamennais nor Kingsley were the first exponents of these ideas. Their merit consisted not in propounding new societary theories, but in reaffirming and accentuating truths forgotten for a time, and, with a powerful enthusiasm, promulgating them, thus spreading the contagion of social affection with the religious fervour of their irrepressible individuality.

The new movement thus set in motion has religion for its inspiration, and looks to Christ's gospel preached to the poor as the best system of social therapeutics. It looks to the Christian religion as a spiritual force in society, promoting the even and harmonious development of the social organism, and regulating its members by the exercise of the *passive* virtues of resignation and self-denial, and thus exorcising the demon of egotism and discontent. It regards the Church as an educational institution, forming character and habits, and inculcating the *active* virtues of diligence, thrift, justice, and veracity, thus furthering the material improvement of the people. It takes note of the mediatorial office of the Christian Church, reconciling employer and employed—the *mons sacer*, where Patricians and Plebeians, as of old, may be reunited. It dwells on the sacred solidarity of man taught in the New Testament, and recommends brotherly co-operation as opposed to the heathenish method of industrial warfare in bare competition. Thus it regards Christianity as the “fécond principe d’association,” which may bring about the federal union of classes and nationalities, as opposed to international fiscal wars and socialistic confederacies for the subversion of social peace and order.

It is to the Christian religion, thus regarded in its social functions, that men of varying religions and philosophical creeds, and representing social interests in

different countries, turn simultaneously as a remedy for "our present discontents." Adolph Wagner,* the Berlin Professor of Social Sciences, and Charles Périn,† the Emeritus Professor of Law and Political Economy at the University of Louvain; Matthew Arnold, the English Apostle of Culture, and Emile de Laveleye, the Belgian economist; Bishop Martensen,‡ the learned Scandinavian moralist and divine; and Raffaele Mariano,§ the independent literary man in the south of Europe;—all alike look to the Christian religion for the extinction of social misery and wrong.

"The Proletarians," says E. de Laveleye, in his "*l'Avenir Religieux*," "have been detached from, and will return to, Christianity when they begin to understand that it brings to them freedom and equal rights, whereas Atheistic materialism consecrates their slavery and sacrifices them to pretended natural laws. By a complete misapplication of its ideas, the religion of Christ, transformed into a temporal and sacerdotal institution has been called in, as the ally of caste, despotism, and the ancient *régime*, to sanction all social inequalities. The gospel, on the contrary, is 'the good news' to the poor, the announcement of the advent of that kingdom when the humble shall be lifted up, and the disinherited shall possess the earth. The Christianity of Jesus shall resolve all our economic difficulties, if the spirit of charity and fraternal feeling which it inculcates is understood and applied." ||

* "*Rede über die sociale Frage.*" Berlin, 1872, and other speeches delivered since.

† "*Le Socialisme Chrétien*," 1879.

‡ "*Socialismus und Christenthum.*" Gotha, 1875.

§ "*Christenthum, Katholicismus, und Cultur.*" Leipzig, 1880. The German translation by the Italian author is the only work in the hands of the present writer. Cf. M. Arnold's paper on this subject, *Macmillan's Magazine*, April, 1876.

|| "*L'Avenir Religieux des Peuples Civilisés*," p. 25. Cf. Paul Ribot,

Thus the ideas propounded by Lamennais and Kingsley are spreading far and wide. The seed has not fallen on barren ground, it is bearing fruit already; but for the full harvest we must look to the society of the future, when other men shall have entered upon their labours and ours.

"Du Rôle Social des Idées Chrétiennes," 1880; S. Mony, "Étude sur le Travail," 1877, of which a second edition has since appeared, and also a pamphlet of the well-known statistician, Alexander von Oettingen, entitled, "Was heisst Christlich Social?" Leipzig, 1886.

CHAPTER V.

BAADER AND VON KETTELER; OR, "THE BLACK
INTERNATIONALE" IN GERMANY.

IN the foregoing chapters we endeavoured to give typical representatives of Christian Socialism in France and England. We now turn to Germany, where similar social causes produced a similar movement in the two leading religious bodies of that country.

In the Roman Catholic Church, where the movement took its rise first, two men stand out prominently from among the rest, the one a philosophic layman, the other an ecclesiastic politician. The former has much in common with Lamennais, whose writings he knew and criticized freely, and for whose leading ideas he expressed both sympathy and respect. The latter is not unlike Kingsley in his manly attitude, though superior to him in administrative gifts, and falling below him in the finer humanities of his disposition and the broad comprehensiveness of his religious conceptions. In Baader and Ketteler and their teachings, we see represented the two successive stages of the new Catholic movement in Germany, so far as it is connected with social reform. Religious philosophers and literary men among the laity are identified with the first, the clergy and what may be called the clerical centres with the second. The former vented itself in a sort of romantic mysticism, with

reactionary tendencies in religion and politics ; the latter in Ultramontaniam, and a general desire to widen the basis of ecclesiastical operations among the working classes. Baader, the defender of religious liberty, occupies in this respect an entirely different standpoint from Ketteler, the champion of socialistic clericalism, which has earned for its representatives the name "Black Internationale."

In other respects both men are inspired by common ideas. Their motives and methods are not always the same, but they are perfectly at one as regards the main theories of Christian Socialism in its past and present aspects respectively ; the one antecedent to, the other consequent upon, the revolution of 1848.

Franz Xavier von Baader was born in München on March 27th, 1765. His father was a medical practitioner, well acquainted with, and influenced by, some of the leading liberal bishops in Germany, many of whom shared the enlightened views of the eighteenth century. This may have had an effect on the first impressions of young Baader, who was intended to follow his father's profession. But he turned to mining from personal predilection. As a devoted student of science, he became the friend of Alexander von Humboldt at the University of Freiburg. During his stay in England for the purpose of scientific inquiry, he made the acquaintance of Dugald Stewart and Erasmus Darwin, and was offered the directorship of lead and silver mines in Devonshire, which, however, he refused. On his return to Germany, he was made "Councillor of Mines," and became the author of original treatises on metallurgy and chemistry. His original contributions to mental science were by no means insignificant, and at one time he was regarded as a man likely to give a fresh start

to speculative philosophy in his country. In religious matters, his aspirations were for the reunion of Protestantism with Catholicism, and he joined the mystic circle of religious devotees which at the time had Madame Krüdener for its centre of attraction. It included Speranski and Prince Galizin, but its first and foremost member was no less a person than the youthful Emperor of Russia, Alexander I. Baader had a project, which he submitted to the Czar, for uniting the members of the Holy Alliance in one common policy for the spiritual and social regeneration of Europe. He also pressed upon the imperial enthusiast a scheme for the establishment of a new Academy at St. Petersburg, which was to be a temple of religion and science, where faith and fact, dogma and discovery, were to be reconciled, an institution in its leading principles equally distant from the Jesuits and the Encyclopædists. In this effort he was unsuccessful. Foiled by court intrigues, he was compelled to leave the northern capital and return to Germany. On his way home, he stayed at Berlin, where he was brought into contact with Hegel, Herbart, Schleiermacher, and other men of the period. Their influence on his own liberally inclined mind was felt later, when in 1816 he was appointed professor at the newly founded University of his native town. His first public lectures produced a profound sensation because of their freedom. Though a good Catholic, he gave utterance to some strong remonstrances against the absolutism of the Roman Curia in 1838-40, and was in consequence deposed from his professorial chair.

Nevertheless, among the worthies whose busts adorn the Bavarian Walhalla, founded by Louis I. near his capital, Baader's, too, is seen as the representative of Philosophical Philanthropy. As such we may now

proceed to consider him, and examine his theories under the light which the social history of his time throws upon it.

What was said of the class antagonisms in France and England, and the conflicts between the revolutionary and reactionary parties in those countries, is equally true of Germany, with this difference, however, that here special causes aggravated the virulency of class antagonisms. The absolutism of Metternich, with its bureaucratic excesses and galling police regulations, had produced a general spirit of discontent against paternal modes of government. The survival of class privileges and the exemption of the nobles from national burdens had produced a school of "Teutonic Jacobins," whilst the reactionary "Conspiracy of Princes," as it was called, was confronted by the underground machinations of secret societies. Social distress added to the bitterness of the popular disappointment at the barren results of the war of liberation, and the Government was regarded as the chief cause of social evils for which they were only in part and indirectly responsible. The real causes of agricultural distress and industrial depression have to be traced farther back in the historical development of Germany, and mainly in the slow progress of peasant emancipation from feudalism in that country. But in 1750, the agricultural element formed 60 or 70 per cent. of the entire population. There had been peasant risings in Bohemia and Saxony towards the close of the eighteenth century, and excessive subdivision of the soil elsewhere had brought about evils which threatened to culminate in a general outbreak. The partial withdrawal of the more industrious portion of the needy population to the towns interfered with the progress of agriculture, and the return of "factory hands" to their

native villages had the effect of spreading the vices of towns in rural districts and demoralizing the people.

Again, in the centres of industry the extension of trade liberties with the relaxation of the guild system proved by no means an unmixed good. It stimulated production, indeed, but also increased luxury and waste; it lowered the standard of commercial honesty and thoroughness of workmanship; it encouraged selfish exclusiveness as the result of unlimited competition, and was instrumental in destroying small trade by means of wholesale enterprise. Thus were produced poverty and wretchedness, with a decreasing sense of self-respect among the wages-earning classes. From the sixteenth century to the present day the condition of the trades had been deteriorated, until (to take Prussia as a type), at the present moment, according to reliable statistics, the well-to-do classes form only 1·31 of the population, whilst 80·06 per cent. are composed of persons depending, either partly or entirely, on wages, whilst 95 per cent. of the whole population are restricted to an income not exceeding 2,000 marks (£100), though mostly falling below it. This growth of immense wealth in the hands of a few, side by side with the impoverishment of the vastly preponderating many, is, as Dr. Engel of the Statistical Department has put it, the great social danger of the hour. It proved so, though perhaps in less formidable proportions, at the time now under consideration, simply because the disintegrating process had not advanced to the same alarming extent then. But it roused the spirit of insubordination, which was stimulated into revolt by the coercive measures against the "Demagogues" adopted by the governments of the German States. Bavaria at this time was noted more especially for its stagnant immobility in social politics.

It was in such surroundings that the pious and noble-minded Baader recommended a "theocracy," a monarchy guided by Divine politics, as opposed to a "democracy" of revolution, a State held together by Christian love, equally free from slavish despotism and lawless individualism. In a country where the lawyers, physicians, and magistrates were all treated as minor State-officials, and where both he and his colleagues found themselves constantly hampered by the interference of State authority in the discharge of their professional duties, Baader, in the simplicity of his strong beliefs, conceived the Utopian idea of a society founded on the pure principle of Christian love. This optimism was partly inspired by a study of Godwin's works, with which he became acquainted in this country, a fact which he has fully acknowledged in his writings.

He accepts Godwin's pessimistic view of the evils attending the modern modes of industry: "Wealth is acquired by over-reaching our neighbours, and is spent in insulting them." At the same time there is no lack of discriminating criticism when Baader comes to speak of Godwin's excessive individualism, when, in his love for freedom, as Baader thinks, he would make man almost unsocial out of pure fear of sanitary subordination.

We now turn to Baader's own theories on the improvement of society. After dwelling on the irrational and immoral tendencies of some of the "Demagogues," he proceeds—

"Whoever, as an eye-witness, has looked into the abyss of the physical and moral misery and neglect of the greater portion of the proletariat in England and France (mainly owing to the development of our own industrial system), must confess, in spite of any assurances to the contrary made in the

interests of capital and landed property, that the dependent condition of the same class in mediæval times, even when feudalism was most crushing and inhuman, was less intolerable than it is now. . . . Such an observer must acknowledge that, in so-called Christian and enlightened Europe, the civilization of the few exists only at the expense of uncivilization, or rather the brutality, of the many, and that we have approached the ancient system of slavery and helotry, which is much worse than the barbarism of the dark ages."*

He refers to his personal experience during his visit to this country, and mentions the fact that, when present at the meetings of some of the manufacturers in the north, he generally found that they ended in fixing the rate of wages and the price of goods in a manner that might be truly called a conspiracy against the working-man, who always receives less than the natural value of his produce (work). Baader goes on to say that of parliamentary legislation in their favour there can be no question, because only the moneyed classes are represented there.

This, of course, was said in 1835, in an essay on the unhealthy relationship between the working classes and their employers then. Legislation for the benefit of the working classes since, and the creation of conciliation and arbitration boards, leave less room now for such complaints.

Still, in Baader's day, things unfortunately were what he describes them to be; and what is more remarkable in his case is the penetration of mind which saw at the time that the true cause of political agitation was social discontent.]

The remedies he suggests to remove these causes of social dissatisfaction may be summarized as follows:—

* "Werke," vol. vi. pp. 131, 132.

"Without previous and perfect union between God and man, social union can neither be effected nor maintained. Social co-ordination and subordination must rest on Divine authority. All members of the social organism are what they are by the grace of God. Physical force without spiritual power, compulsion without conviction, fear without respect, interest without love, cannot permanently secure social order. (This, it has to be remembered, was said in what has been called the season of agony of Metternich's system.) Corporate action and association are essential to the common weal, because they imply organized social life. On the other hand, all attacks on property by way of advocating a communistic redistribution is a crime against the common interests of all. The Christian law of mutual affection is the only safeguard against the disintegrating power of individualism. With the development of the moral and religious life of the nation, social evolution will become possible also, and thus the unhealthy elements of social progress will be eliminated without the adoption of revolutionary measures. At present, he says, the majority of men are the slaves of capital, the production of wealth is carried on on a gigantic scale, whilst its distribution is alarmingly uneven and unjust. *The Church must provide a new Diaconate* to bring about a more equitable redistribution. The most perfect corporation is the Catholic Church, it is therefore the best type of social organization. The Church is altogether opposed to the heathenish view of ownership of property, which is purely selfish, and therefore anti-social, separating private from common interests. The Church regards all men as agents and stewards of their possessions for the common good. Therefore when it was said in the French Tribune, 'L'état est athée, et doit l'être' (The State is without God, and ought to be so), it was proclaiming a godless constitution of society which introduced the impious spirit of egotism that fears neither God nor man, and utterly destroys the roots of personal responsibility: hence the bitter disappointments following upon the Revolution."

In this respect Baader widely differs from Lamennais in his later views. He compares him with Peter the Hermit in preaching a crusade, but a crusade as in "*Les Paroles d'un Croyant*," against legitimate authority, thus, as it were, consecrating the Jacobin flag and the barricades.* Reminding him of St. Bernard's exhortation,† "*Conformor ut unior dum destituor*" (I yield for the sake of union, though it be to my own hurt), he falls back on the Pauline theory of social duty, that self-immolation and self-conquest lead to man's salvation and that of the race.

Lamennais had said, "*De l'esclave l'homme de crime peut devenir tyran, mais jamais il ne devient libre*" (A bad man who has been a slave may become a tyrant, but never a free man).

Yes, replies Baader. "*Voulez-vous travailler à détruire la misère de l'esclavage de la pauvreté, travaillez à détruire le péché en vous premièrement, puis dans les autres*"—(If you want to work for the destruction of slavish misery among the poor, first try to destroy sin in yourself and then in others).

This is the essence of Christian Socialism, as distinguished from every other form of Socialism having no religious foundation.

From München we proceed to Mainz, to make ourselves acquainted with another and better known Christian Socialist—Wilhelm Emmanuel Freiherr von

* "*Werke*," vol. vi. p. 111. But in a letter to Montalembert in 1831, referring to *L'Avenir*, he points out the value of this publication, and shows how in it the principle is laid down that religion is the true liberator, *freeing man from self* and others, restoring true self-love and love of neighbours, and hence becoming *a binding power in society*. Curiously enough, Leo XIII. has been called Peter the Hermit of late by a Roman Catholic prelate in an assembly of "*Social Catholics*," in allusion to his interest in social questions.

† "*Werke*," vol. vi. p. 41, and *ante*.

Ketteler, late bishop of that ancient see. Ketteler was born in Münster on Christmas Day, 1811. He belonged to an old Westphalian family, and was the third son out of ten. He received his early education in the Capitular school of his native city, and afterwards in the Jesuit establishment at Brügg. His mother is described as a "strong woman," and from her he seems to have inherited the vigour of character for which he became afterwards so distinguished. From the very first there was a peculiar religious tone in his manner and bearing which made gamekeepers of his father call him, when still a boy, "Bischöffliche Gnaden" (your Episcopal Grace), an epithet which clung to him during the whole course of early home-life. Like Charles Kingsley, he delighted in outdoor exercise, and in his younger days excelled as a persevering sportsman and mountaineer. This cheerful robustness developed into a healthy manliness and dignified elasticity of bearing in later life. The present writer has distinct recollections of the impression produced on his boyish mind by the stately presence and courtly grace of the Bishop of Mainz as he passed through the streets of a south German town after a confirmation. There was character in every step and every keen glance of his penetrating eye, and the crowd, by no means universally sympathetic, could not help being awed by the commanding presence of one whom they instinctively recognized as a man of power. Ketteler received his University training first at Göttingen, where he also fought a duel, which left its mark on his face for life. Thence he migrated to Heidelberg and München, and after passing a good examination for his law-degree, he became "Referendar," an administrative post which he occupied from 1834 to 1838. When, however, in one of those feuds between Church and State in which Ketteler

himself afterwards took a prominent part, the Archbishop of Cöln was imprisoned in 1838, Ketteler, disapproving of the step the Government had taken, felt himself conscientiously bound to leave the public service. He now began his studies for the Church under Döllinger, at the age of thirty-three. Afterwards he removed to the Seminary at Münster, where his conduct was characterized by a punctual attention to his duties, and a simplicity of life almost amounting to asceticism. This, however, did not prevent his becoming very popular among his fellow-students. In 1844, he received priest's orders, and in his first cure was much beloved by all his parishioners, especially the children, and soon became a general favourite among the clergy of the district and all those engaged in philanthropic efforts. This enabled him to say, at a later period of his life—

“I have lived with and among the people, and know them in their sorrows and complaints: there are few of the tears and none of the sufferings among the people committed to my charge which have escaped my notice. They come to me with their grievances, and I sympathize with them and seek to alleviate their sorrows.”

Like Kingsley, during the cholera season in England, Ketteler, during an epidemic of typhus fever in his parish, most devotedly visited and relieved the people in 1847. It was in recognition of this and similar unremitting efforts, especially in the erection of hospitals and such-like institutions, that he was elected to represent the district in the Parliament of the Germanic Confederation, then held in Frankfort. This election of Ketteler is noteworthy, as many members of the constituency were Protestants. It led the way to future preferment, when the following event brought Ketteler for the first time prominently before a larger public.

A tragedy, similar in its enormity and effect to that of the murder of Lord Cavendish and Mr. Burke in the Phoenix Park, furnished the occasion, namely the assassination of two distinguished noblemen—Prince Lichnowski and Count Auerswald, in the riot at Frankfort of September, 1848. Though in the nature of a political murder, it was closely connected with the social discontents of the times, and was the work of the social democracy. It happened in connection with the insurrectionary movement, which had assumed such formidable proportions in Berlin and Vienna during the previous March. The Emperor of Austria was compelled to take flight from his capital, the King of Prussia was subjected to the humiliation of showing his respect with uncovered head to those rebels who had fallen on the barricades during the fourteen days' street fight in his own capital. Germany was in a ferment, and Frankfort, where the Diet was holding its sittings, reflected the agitated condition of the empire. The two noblemen mentioned above were prominent members of the Conservative section in the Diet, and the eloquence of Lichnowski had helped materially in passing a measure specially obnoxious to the democratic party. The red-republicans were determined to make capital of this, with a view to foment a rising, and a skirmish took place between the military and the crowd. Lichnowski and Auerswald had left the city on horseback together, and were recognized by the populace and pursued. They sought a hiding-place in a cottage on the Bornheim Heath, but were discovered, dragged out, and murdered with every mark of savage cruelty. It was at their grave that Ketteler delivered his celebrated oration, which immediately produced a profound sensation throughout Germany.

Referring to the popular aspirations of the times,

though of course expressing horror at the dastardly deed, he says—

“I believe in the truth of those noble ideas which are moving the world now; none of them is, in my estimation, too high for the attainment of mankind. I love the present age for this reason more especially, because it strives mightily for the fulfilment of those ideal aspirations, though I see that we are yet a long while off from this happy consummation; . . . but there is but *one* means to realize these grand ideas, and that is by turning to *Him* who has brought them into the world, the Son of God, Jesus Christ[. . . With Him humanity can do everything, the highest aims thus become realizable; without Him it can do nothing. With Him, in the truth which He has taught, in the way He has shown, we can turn the earth into a paradise, dry the tears of our poor suffering brethren, establish love, union, fraternity, and true humanity in the most perfect manner; yea, I maintain, in the deepest conviction of my soul, we may restore a community of good and everlasting peace, and call into existence the most liberal political institutions—*without Him* we shall go to destruction with shame, confusion, and misery, a byword and derision to posterity.”

In the same year, Ketteler preached his sermon on social subjects in the Mainz Cathedral, to a mixed audience of from five to six thousand persons on four successive days, which only more fully expanded the leading idea here expressed with so much dignity and daring, considering both the place and the occasion.

His merits were recognized by those in authority. In the next year, he was promoted to the Provostship at the Church of St. Hedwega, in Berlin, and in 1850 he was enthroned as Bishop of Mainz. As a notable trait of his character we may mention the fact that on the third day after his consecration he had visited all the

hospitals in the town, praying with the sick, and thus signalizing his first assumption of episcopal dignity by those practical acts of Christian charity for which he had been so distinguished as a parish priest. In his private life Ketteler was a bright example of simplicity and frugality. He rose at four o'clock in the morning, and gave himself little rest all day. Not unfrequently he heard confessions from two o'clock in the afternoon until twelve at night. With an enormous capacity for work, he addressed his mind to the most absorbing questions of the Church polity which then were the order of the day; he attended to the organization of social and educational institutions by means of which the Roman Catholic Church then hoped to extend her influence among the masses, and some of them were first called into existence by the Bishop himself. Associations of journeymen and apprentices, asylums for servants out of employment, mutual improvement and benefit societies rose rapidly into existence during his episcopate, and received his attention in the midst of multifarious engagements of every kind in the administration of the diocese. As the recognized leader of the Rhenish bishops, he was waging war at the same time with the Government. With this we are not concerned here, but whatever our estimate of him as an Ultramontane controversialist may be, and however much we may differ from him in the interpretation of the following sentence, we cannot help admiring the strength of his faith when he says, "All decrees of the secular power in themselves fail to cure the cancer in the human body politic. Only Christian charity can come in here as an effectual remedy."

Also, we could wish that the rulers in Church bodies generally, in view of the many dangers which assail

social order in the present day, could say of themselves what the Bishop of Mainz says in his published letter to Professor Nippold, of Heidelberg :—

“ Besides my actual spiritual duties and the government of my diocese, I follow attentively the movements of my time, which afford me an opportunity of observing many acts of mutual dissension between man and man, not always as the result of ill-will, but simply arising from misapprehension and prejudice. To correct these unfortunate preconceptions and misconceptions I devote all the spare moments of my life, after discharging my ordinary duties.”

And what are the principles arrived at in the course of these observations on current events in the social world? What is Ketteler's solution of the social question?

There is no particular work giving a systematic account of Ketteler's scheme of social improvement. Occasional sermons, speeches, pamphlets (about forty in number) are all that is left from which to gather his opinions.

The social question, he maintains, is simply a question of bodily comfort or physical support (*eine Magenfrage*—a question of the stomach). The workman has become a mere commodity, like every other in the market, and the price paid for labour depends entirely on demand and supply. In the competition struggle where each tries to secure a bare maintenance, the “hands” are helpless, depending on the fluctuations of trade. Adopting Lassalle's theory of the brazen law of wages, which condemns the large body of wages-labourers to eke out a bare existence according to the lowest standard of living, Ketteler, too, invokes State protection for the labourers against encroachments of irreponsible capitalists

who use manual labour as they use up machinery. For the same purpose, to secure a more healthy development physically and morally, he would encourage co-operation among the men. But here the representative of Christian Socialism joined issue with the leader of the Social Democracy. According to the latter, the working classes are "the rock on which the Church of the present must be built." According to Ketteler, to secure the safety and welfare of society, it must be founded on the rock of St. Peter. Christ is the true Saviour of society, and the full recognition of Christian duty on the part of the privileged classes towards the poor, after the manner of St. Elizabeth and St. Francis, would heal many of the sores in the social body politic. So, on the other hand, the recognition of Christian principle on the part of the workers, would enable them to bear the ills of life with dignified patience and enduring heroism, remembering that the disposition of the heart rather than social position determines man's true place in the community. The Bishop points out the impotence of legislative measures for the purpose of equalizing property. Inequality of fortune, as he reasonably enough maintains, is the result of inequality of skill and character. The recognition of higher ideals as an antidote to the materialistic tendencies in every section of society can alone save our work-civilization from ruin. Hope of a future life alone can render the present state of existence tolerable to vast multitudes who have no prospect whatever of a better lot in life here. Christian fortitude, and not the mechanical force of social laws, will enable them cheerfully to perform life's task. Christian love, as a binding force, can effect what the mere external combination of "pulverized" social atoms fails to bring about, viz, co-operative association on a sound basis.

The Divine laws of liberty, order, justice, and mercy can adjust the limits of private property and the claims of the community on the individual, or protect the interests of the proprietors and the patrimony of the poor.

Under the discipline of religion, self-help and self-culture will become a power for good, and a blessing; whereas, without it, degenerating into self-seeking and self-adulation, they often become a power for evil and a curse; in short, the evils of unlimited competition can at least be mitigated, if they cannot be removed altogether, by the exercise of Christian charity.

The Socialist St. Simon had said on his death-bed: "Remember, to do great deeds you must have enthusiasm;" Bishop Ketteler points to the power of Christian liberality as the lever for raising and regenerating society. He makes mention of the spirit of self-sacrifice in the Catholic Church, and the enormous sums annually collected for religious purposes, and looks to similar acts of voluntary efforts of self-devotion for social purposes.

Such are the general principles of Ketteler's Christian Socialism. They have since been further developed by Canon Moufang, and stated with greater boldness and clearness, especially in a memorable speech delivered by him before the Mainz electors in 1871. It contains the programme of Roman Catholic Socialism in what may be called its more advanced stage. Moufang sums up his demands as follows:—1. Legislative protection of "the rights of labour;" 2. Pecuniary State subvention to aid co-operative associations; 3. Reduction of the burdens of taxation and military service; 4. Restriction of the power of capital and the removals of evils arising from usury and over-speculation.

On the part of the Church, Moufang demands—1. The diffusion of the spirit of fair justice and Christian love;

2. The inculcation of the virtues of benevolence and beneficence; 3. The administration of comfort and consolation in seasons of sorrow and sufferings and the trials of this life, together with the inspiration of a better hope of that which is to come. We shall see further on to what extent this rather advanced position of Catholic Socialism has been modified authoritatively of late.

It is easier to comply with the last-mentioned demands than the requirement of State regulation of the price of labour, since the natural aptitudes and inclinations for work differ so widely in individual cases. It would amount to simply injustice to treat all alike; it would be impossible to find employers investing their capital under such conditions, and thus the source of demand for labour would in many instances be dried up altogether. It would be equally impracticable to reform some of the abuses of the money market, and to remove the evils of over-speculation by legislative enactments. Desirable as these reforms are, imperative even to save large bodies of men from destitution and ruin, such reform cannot be carried with a high hand; they must be preceded by a moral reformation which would raise the standard of commercial honesty and purify public opinion as the arbiter of mercantile morality. Again, industrial enterprise depends on freedom of contract. State intervention between employers and employed, though it might here and there prevent acts of flagrant injustice on the part of the large capitalists in using their power by over-reaching those whose capital is their manual skill, would prove detrimental to the interests of the labourers as a body, *in their present condition*, unable as they are to carry on production on their own account and at their own risk without the necessary capital and credit.

Tirades against the tyranny of capital are of little use, as M. de Laveleye points out, speaking on this subject in his late work on Contemporary Socialism, and vague appeals to Government are equally useless, unless a *modus operandi* is suggested at the same time which would obviate the difficult question: Who will bear the risk of productive enterprise when the laws of the State, formed for the protection of labour, endanger the safety of the enterprise altogether, and make it the interest of the manufacturer to withdraw his capital?

The work of Ketteler and Moufang is still being carried on, in the press mainly by the *Christlich Sociale Blätter*, and a number of minor publications, all exercising a considerable influence on public opinion among Roman Catholics; and among the large body of the working classes, by the maintenance and extension of a number of associations of masters, journeymen, and apprentices, as well as agricultural and industrial labourers, under the auspices of the Roman Catholic clergy, and subject to ecclesiastical discipline. Father Kolbing, once a journeyman himself, is, or was until quite lately, at the head of this class of artisans, and, as such, has rendered distinguished services, which were fully acknowledged at the time by Bishop Ketteler.

In fact, the main strength of "Catholic Socialism" lies in this widely spread system of organization. The number of associations of operatives under Church auspices, surpasses the aggregate amount of all other similar associations taken together.

There are in Germany Catholic associations of masters and apprentices, of factory labourers, miners, and vintners, there are "Patriotic Bavarian" and Westphalian unions of peasant proprietors, and a number of other societies of men and women in every direction, exercising a

powerful influence under strict clerical supervision, the result of which is that in purely Catholic regions for any efforts of social reform to be successful, it is essential in the first instance to secure the Catholic ecclesiastics as auxiliaries in any such undertaking.

Unhappily for social reform, the *Culturkampf* broke out at a time when circumstances and events in the industrial life of the nation required perfect union between the Government and the Roman hierarchy. But, in the heat of this conflict, men on either side, equally anxious to restore social harmony in the nation, instead of asking themselves the urgent question, *what* was to be done, wasted their strength in debating *who* was to do it, and *how*. Was society to be saved by an Imperial and imperious dictator, who regarded State Socialism as a form of "practical Christianity," or by the sole instrumentality of that Church whose leaders boldly extended to society the time-honoured principle of Catholicism, "*Extra ecclesiam nulla salus*" ? The late *rapprochement* between Varzin and the Vatican holds out the hope of speedy removal of this impediment to common action in matters of social interest.

In the General Assembly of Catholics in Germany, held at Düsseldorf in 1883, the following resolution, indicating the present position of the Church on this question, was passed, on the motion of Prince Karl von Löwenstein :—

"The General Assembly of German Catholics desires to express its conviction that the social question is not only an economic, but also, and in the first place, a moral and religious one, and therefore its solution is impossible without the united action of Church and State. It regards it, therefore, as essentially necessary, in order to heal the present social evils, for the Church and her institutions to have restored

to them full liberty for the exercise of their social functions."

Similar in tone were the utterances at the last General Assembly held at Trèves in 1887, and still more pronounced in favour of State intervention were the resolutions passed at the International Social Congress of Catholics at Liège, last September.*

Thus the prediction of Cavour has been partially fulfilled, that a time would come when a union would be brought about between Romanism and Socialism, and Ketteler's *Kosacken regiment*, as it has been contemptuously called by opponents, which has enabled the Roman hierarchy to bring into the field at any given moment an army of artisans and labourers to defend the rights and liberties of the Church, has paved the way for this strange union.

* See *L'Association Catholique*, October 15, 1887; and *Christlich Sociale Blätter*, 20 Jahrgang, 21 and 23 Heft.

CHAPTER VI.

HUBER, THE PIONEER OF CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM IN
GERMANY.

AMONG those who watched with interest the efforts of the Christian Socialists in England, there was an "intelligent foreigner," who, during a professional visit to this country, became acquainted with F. D. Maurice and his friends, whom he visited on two occasions, first in 1844, and then again ten years later. To this last visit he refers in his published letters on the co-operative movement in Belgium, France, and England, a work which at the time enjoyed general and well-deserved popularity.

This gentleman, also the author of some notes on the English Universities, which in their translated form attracted sufficient attention in this country to be quoted in Parliamentary debates, was Victor Aimé Huber, the subject of the present sketch. He forms, so to speak, the connecting link between the Christian Socialists of Germany and England, and also between the Christian Socialism of the past and present generation. He is regarded as the pioneer of the co-operative movement in Germany, and has been called in the recently published memoir of his life and work the forerunner of the modern school of Christian Socialists in that country.

The author of this memoir, Dr. Eugen Jäger, a well known contributor to socialistic literature, here gives us a very appreciative account of Huber's earnest endeavours to remove the social disabilities and improve the moral and mental conditions of the working classes. It is to this publication that the present writer owes much of the information contained in this chapter.

Huber was an original character. In days when but few of his contemporaries and sympathizers were able to see the signs of the times, and blindly trusted to traditional forms and repressive measures in their clumsy endeavours to cope with the rising spirit of social discontent, Huber was among the very first to discover in this uneasy state of the public mind a symptom of the rising storm which broke out, but did not spend itself entirely, in the Revolution of 1848. For late socialistic manifestations in Germany form only another stage of its development which makes thoughtful observers of current events dread its final culmination in utter social disruption, unless indeed a serious social revolt is not arrested by timely social reform. To this task Huber addressed himself, and never grew weary preaching, in season and out of season, the duty of the higher classes to raise the lower materially, morally, and mentally, not so much by means of legislation and State help as by voluntary effort for the encouragement of association and co-operation to counteract the evils of competition.

Belonging by hereditary and early training to that party of liberal thinkers in Germany which got its philosophical and political opinions from France, Huber changed his social theories with his religious views at an important crisis of his life, to be mentioned further on, after which he began to look to constructive and conservative social reforms as the best means of pre-

serving society from decay, and as the best antidote against the threatening advances of social democracy.

The best introduction to Huber's theories and methods of social improvement will be a short sketch of his life.

He was born in Stuttgart on the 18th of March, 1800, of gifted parents on both sides. His father, a friend of Schiller and Alexander von Humboldt, and an inmate in the house of George Forster, the celebrated naturalist and circumnavigator, belonged to the band of enthusiasts who, during the era of "enlightenment" in Germany, hailed with acclamations the outbreak of the French Revolution. Huber's mother was the accomplished daughter of the scholar Heyne, and the widow of Forster, and long before her second marriage exercised a salutary influence over Huber's father. She was a woman remarkable for her mental endowments, energetic character, and sympathetic many-sidedness. She had ideal views of life which she did not fail to impart to her son, and her literary taste and tact had procured her a position that enabled her to introduce him into the field of literature at an early age. To her fostering care Huber owed a great deal in childhood and youth. She superintended his education (his father having died), and watched with maternal solicitude over the mental development and external career of her son during the most impressionable period of his life. When he was seven years old, he was placed under Philip Emanuel von Fellenberg, at Hofwyl, near Bern, a celebrity at the time as a philanthropist, agriculturist, and more especially as the inventor of a new method of education, and as such the friend of Pestalozzi. He was a man of modern ideas who indulged in the optimist creed that in "developing and perfecting our present humanity" he could render men happy. From the general adoption of

his new educational method he expected no less than the entire transformation of the economic, moral, and religious condition of Europe. In the house of this educational innovator young Huber met schoolfellows belonging to the highest ranks in society, but equality was the basis of their common culture, and all social distinctions were disregarded in the school. The object of the establishment was to combine liberal education with physical training, and gymnastics with practical agriculture, including hard and rough labour.

The letters from his mother at this time were full of maternal exhortations which were intended to soften Huber's apparently somewhat intractable character, and to inculcate the principles of self-denial and self-mastery by means of plain living and high thinking, as well as the duty of cultivating a fellow-feeling for the sorrows and sufferings of the poor, a duty which he fulfilled so well when he arrived at years of discretion.

At sixteen years of age, the young Aimé went to the University of Göttingen, where his grandmother was still living, and gave him material help in the pursuit of his studies. At this period, Huber not only abstained from the usual excesses of undergraduates, but he also endeavoured to conquer the fashionable excess of sympathy with the "world-sorrow," in which he was much assisted by the judicious letters of his mother. He took his degree in Medicine in 1820, and having obtained, through the influence of his mother in high quarters, a State stipendium corresponding to a travelling fellowship at the Universities, he set out for foreign travel, to satisfy his spirit of adventure in distant lands.

His professional studies had at no time had much interest for him, and now that he was free to follow his natural bent he threw himself into the social and political

movement which was then agitating the western continent of Europe. His letters from Paris show how rapidly he had made himself acquainted with the social condition of the poor labourers in the French capital, and how entirely he had entered with a deep and personal interest into their complaints. Here, too, he cultivated the acquaintance with the chosen spirits of the day, Lafayette, Lafitte, Perier, and others, though his liberal sympathies were attracted towards Spain, and the struggle for liberty which was then agitating the national mind of that country. But dissatisfied with the poor results of the peninsular rising, he left and took ship at Lisbon for Hamburg in 1823. Thence he proceeded to Edinburgh, and to London in the following year. Shortly after this, he published his well-known sketches from Spain, passed a short time in Italy as travelling tutor, and at last settled down in Bremen as one of the masters at the Merchants' School of that town.

Here it was that he married (after his mother's death) the daughter of one of the senators, and here, too, at the age of thirty, an important change took place in his religious feelings and convictions which altered the whole current of his life. He had been brought up as a heathen, with classical models only for his examples of life and conduct. His early associations and contact with the leaders in philosophy and social politics had confirmed him in those humanitarian views of the eighteenth century in which he had been cradled as a child. He had been baptized, indeed, into the Catholic Church, but this more as a matter of form. For a long time, every kind of religious profession was equally distasteful to him. Now, however, when for the first time brought into contact with "religious circles" in Protestant countries, a marked change came over him in

favour of religious beliefs, and he was favourably impressed at Edinburgh in particular by the practical beneficence and missionary efforts displayed by members of the Presbyterian Kirk. This change gave a new bent to his philanthropic efforts, and he thenceforward became a Christian Socialist.

Though deeply impressed with religious convictions, he seems to have attached but little significance to external Church government. Thus he joined the Established Reformed Church of Bremen as a matter of course. Afterwards, when appointed to a professional chair in Mecklenburg, he was as willing to join the Lutheran State Church in that country, and in the same way became a member of the United Church of Prussia on his removal to Berlin. His attitude towards the Roman Catholic Church was that of toleration and respect; he even suggested a dignified attitude of armed neutrality between the two confessions as a *modus vivendi*, and was strongly in favour of a reunion between Catholicism and Protestantism in Germany.

In his letters from London he often inveighs against the worldliness and stagnation of spiritual life in the Church of England; he complains of its barren orthodoxy, intolerable injustice in the distribution of preferment, and the utter incapacity of the clergy as a body to grapple with the social problems of the day. With profound veneration he dwells on the character and work of F. D. Maurice as a grand exception to the "predominant dead Pharisaism" in Church life. He alludes with evident interest to the popular expositor of the Christian Socialists, the "too genial" Kingsley, and gives a fairly appreciative account of his and their efforts in the direction of social reform.

In view of present literary controversies connected

with Carlyle it may be interesting to note what a foreign observer felt and said thirty years ago on this subject. Comparing Maurice with Thomas Carlyle, both of whom he knew personally when they resided as close neighbours in Chelsea, he refers to what he calls Carlyle's "purely negative, and therefore unfruitful criticism of things as they are, were, and ever can be." He dwells on his bitterness of irony and fondness of exaggeration, and the evident determination only to see the dark side of things, and to expose the weaknesses and shortcomings of society. He points out the injustice of Carlyle in attacking so unmercifully all curative claims to improve society and their authors, instead of laying bare merely the sores of the social disorder they intend to remove.

"Whilst he himself" (Carlyle) "does nothing great or small to alleviate or remove the evils he complained of, he ignores, discards, and ridicules everything others may either know or do, condemning it in wholesale as sham, humbug, flunkeyism, semblances, fatuities, vulturism," etc., etc. Such terms, he goes on to say, may have been at one time appropriate enough and full of meaning in describing a peculiar evil full of danger and requiring exposure in all directions, but they have now lost the force of their original significance, and have simply become fixed ideas of Carlyle's mind, of which he cannot divest himself.

"How different is Maurice," he continues, "in his untiring love and self-sacrificing activity, as directed, not only against the unhealthy symptoms in those social forces and organs whose office it is to remove the disease of the body-politic, but towards the creation of new forces and organs, so as to effect a healthy reaction among the poor properly so called, where this social distemper makes itself peculiarly felt. The reason why these two men, but a few years ago unanimous in their convictions, have got in tracks so entirely at variance with each other . . . is surely not only to be sought

in the dissimilarity of natural gifts and dispositions. It rather lies in this, that the one has never left the foundations of faith, nor withdrawn himself from the discipline of the Holy Ghost, whereas the other has followed with passionate wilfulness the utterly unrestrained impulse of his subjective feelings and self-conscious vanity."

We quote this sentence from one of the letters, not because we are prepared to endorse the judgment thus pronounced on Carlyle, but chiefly because in his interesting manner it marks the standpoint of Huber as a Christian Socialist. For here he expresses his firm belief in the regenerative force of Christian principle, surpassing in its spiritual efficacy other forms of humanitarian socialisms which were not founded on belief.

Huber's linguistic proficiency procured for him a post at the University of Rostock in 1832, and after that a call to Marburg six years later. In 1839, he was elected as the representative of this collegiate body in the Hessian House of Representatives. Hence we see him engaged in controversies connected with the social politics of that eventful period, maintaining an independent standpoint equally distasteful both to the strictly progressive and obstructive parties, because in his endeavours to remove social abuses he neither trusted himself, nor allowed others to trust, to the mere shibboleths of this party or that.

With his efforts as an ultra-Conservative statesman and journalist we have nothing to do here. Suffice it to say that Friedrich Wilhelm IV., of Prussia, to whom Huber had been introduced when he was but Crown Prince in 1838, induced him to come to Berlin and to found a Conservative periodical under royal patronage. As editor of this periodical, the *Janus*, Huber made it the vehicle for pressing his pet scheme of co-operation

on the attention of his readers. But owing to the general apathy of the intelligent public and the ruling classes in Germany, the *Janus* had but a very limited circulation, perhaps because it was known to be subsidized by those in authority.

After the March revolution in 1848, this publication, which in many respects resembled the *Christian Socialist* in this country and *L'Avenir* in France, was discontinued, and another method for rallying the friends of Social Reform on Conservative principles was made by Huber in forming his "Association of Christian Order and Liberty." But this, too, proved unsuccessful. Huber found more favour, in truth, among the Social Radicals than in his own reactionary circles. His assistance was sought by some Liberals and Democrats who had lately established a "Building Society for the common good," which had for its object the improvement of the dwellings of the poor. Huber readily subscribed seven thousand dollars to its funds, and was invited to draw up its constitution. He agreed, and in this document, placed within the corner-stone of the first house built by the Association, on March, 1849, Huber expresses his sanguine hope that this might be "the first step in the career of a movement which has for its object the solution of one of the most trying questions of these ominously stormy times, and the pledge of security in the happy future of the German Fatherland, viz. *the transformation of portionless workers into working proprietors.*"

Now he also began to publish, at the expense of this society, a new organ, called the *Concordia*; but it had to be discontinued, too, for want of supporters. A later attempt to revive it in 1861 proved equally unsuccessful.

A central society for the welfare of the working classes had been founded in 1830 by the liberalizing party,

and was still under their direction. Huber was asked to join it, and readily accepted the flattering invitation, coming as it did from his political opponents. He also at this time put himself into communication with the *Gesellenvater Kolping*, so-called because, as we pointed out in the previous chapter, he was at the head of all the associations of young working men formed under the auspices of Bishop Ketteler. At the same time Huber was engaged in multifarious acts of practical beneficence, attending to all cases of distress in the town, "the father of vagabonds," as he often called himself, adopting the Portuguese ascription of magistrates in the dark ages : *Pae dos velhacos*.

But neither his practical efforts nor his theories of social reform found much favour in high quarters or among his Tory friends. His lectures at the University were thinly attended, and at last, unable to make headway against prejudice and opposition, Huber left the public service in 1851, determined henceforth to live entirely for his ideas of social amelioration and those practical efforts for the elevation of the masses he had so truly at heart. When he left Berlin, where he had never felt quite at home, says his biographer, no noisy farewell speeches were made in his honour, nor was his dismissal accompanied by the bestowal of orders and decorations with which royalty rewards civic merit. But Huber received what he valued far more highly than honours and public distinctions. His departure was followed by the tears, the prayers, and the blessings of the poor.

He now found a new home in the pleasant little town of Wenigerode, among the Hartz Mountains, and hence he paid periodical visits to France, Belgium, and England, and thus became a living organ, so to speak, for international communication on the subject of co-operative

association. One of the results of these travels was the publication of the letters already quoted, whilst the numerous pamphlets, speeches, and leading articles on the same subject, if collected, would fill volumes. Huber's travels have been called, indeed, "missionary journeys," having for their object the propagation of useful knowledge on the subject of co-operation and association, but in his evangelistic efforts of this kind he never forgot that charity begins at home. He was indefatigable in his efforts to remove at home on a small scale all those social evils to the study and care of which he devoted the ample learning and matured energies of a master mind. There, in the little town, the highly gifted man of letters condescended to live in daily companionship with labourers and artisans in order to raise them by personal contact to a higher level. In this he spared no sacrifice of time or money. He founded a loan society, an institution for smaller tradespeople, and a technical school for the instruction of young apprentices after leaving the ordinary schools, where he taught himself. He also called into existence a Christian Association of Journeymen, and often was found in the Assembly Rooms either teaching or conversing, while part of his time was devoted to another society, not of his own creation, nor calling itself Christian, but in other respects having in view the same objects of self-improvement. Here, too, among his "heathen," as he called them, he was always welcome.

There is an institution peculiar to German religious life called the "Inner Mission," an outcome of Christian philanthropy, founded soon after the troubles of 1848, and having for its object the pacification of social discontent by the spread of Christian ideas and the exercise of Christian charity among the poor and the labouring

classes. Huber was a friend of this practical form of Home-missions, and devoted a considerable portion of his own private fortune and that of his wife to the foundation of a benevolent institution, called the Home of St. Theobald, for the purpose, as he put it, of "aiding the endeavours of faith working through love."

The Home afforded room for instruction, lectures, meetings, a popular library, and temporary hospitality. Huber handed it over to a society, which still exists, to work it according to his own ideas. But in this, as well as in most of his efforts, the result did not by any means correspond to his expectations. He often complained, we are told, "I only see leaves, but no fruit." This is a complaint falling not unfrequently from the lips of social reformers. But here, as in nature, the putting forth of leaves precedes the production of fruit. We are permitted to see the former, though we do not always live long enough to reap the latter. From this, it does not follow that we have laboured in vain. Huber had formed a plan for a greater work in the social question, but his minor occupations and the frequent interruptions which they entailed prevented the execution of this plan. During the summer of 1869 he was prostrated by severe illness, and died July 19 of that year, after a well-spent life devoted to the cause of religious and social reform. He was at once a true patriot and sincere lover of the people.

The views of such a man on social subjects are worth while considering, and deserve our respect, if they do not altogether meet with our approbation. We, therefore, now purpose giving our readers a very short *resumé* of Huber's social theories, and some of the principal suggestions of social improvement as far as they may be gathered from his numerous writings. As in the case of

those social reformers whom we have previously noticed, Huber, too, dwells with acrimonious insistence on the growth of excessive wealth in the hands of a few, and the corresponding increase of distress among the many; in other words, the unhappy co-existence side by side of progress and poverty. The consequence of this abnormal state of social inequality, he says, is the degradation of the pauperized proletarians, and the moral degeneracy of the rich. Huber, too, places little confidence in the theory of the liberal school of economists, that things will right themselves if let alone, and looks to co-operation and a better organization of labour as the only means of saving society from the disintegrating influence of "Mammonism." In raising the proletarians to a position of small proprietors, he thus hopes to restore self-respect among them, whilst a more equalized distribution of labour and enjoyment would preserve the wealthy from the dangers of luxurious self-indulgence. At the same time, Huber is far from acquiescing in a wholesale condemnation of free competition, the successful rival of co-operation. On the contrary, speaking in his letters from England on the tendency of disparaging the principle of competition among the adherents of Maurice and his school, he maintains "that competition is one of the Divine laws of social life and development, which, like every other law, requires the discipline of the Holy Ghost in the individual and in society, in Church and State, so as not to be abused by selfishness, or poisoned by ignorance and folly." No one, he adds, can doubt that this discipline is sadly wanting in our modern industry, but it does not follow from this that the rival system, co-operation, would prove a better substitute in this respect, unless it be made subject to this discipline, and unless it is prepared to substitute love for private interest as the motive force of

human activity. He remarks, shrewdly enough, that such an essential distinction of principles in the conduct of business does not as yet exist in the two respective systems of carrying on industry. There is, indeed, he says, a greater profession of fraternal love to be found in the programmes and party-manifestoes of co-operators, and also an inclination on their part to adopt love as a moving principle of co-operative labour, but that is all. There is no inherent reason in the nature of things why non-co-operators should not adopt the same profession, as it is by no means incompatible with the principle of competition as such.*

This fairness of judgment is Huber's characteristic, and he showed it in a variety of ways. Thus, *e.g.* he has as little faith in bureaucratic imperialism as in parliamentary majorities when the people's welfare is at stake. He readily acknowledges the importance of self-help without ignoring the relative usefulness of State-help under given circumstances. Indeed, at times Huber seems to take for his motto "Everything for, but nothing by, the people," and speaks with supreme contempt of "Mr. Public," representing at the same time kings and nobles as the only true saviours of society. But there are other passages where he also dwells on the importance of independent self-help and points out the evils of patriarchal government; what he really wants is the creation of associations of independent labourers under the patronage of the Church and the aristocracy.†

* "Genossenschaftliche Briefe aus Belgium, Frankreich, und England," vol. ii. pp. 26, 27, 180.

† In answer to some extreme advocates of State-help like the agitator Lassalle, he says truly enough: "If the State is to be responsible for the labour and support of the workmen, the latter must sooner or later become either the masters or the slaves of the State." On the other hand, he opposes moderately but decisively the opposite theory of stringent ex-

The proletarian masses must be organized, he says, not on the pattern of Communistic Utopias, but by means of voluntary effort to re-collect the isolated atoms in co-operation, and by the reunion of employers and employed in the processes of production as well as distribution. But this depends on the reawakening of the fraternal spirit, and therefore must have religion for its basis. Self-seeking isolates, Christian love unites man with man, removes the barriers of class-interests and antagonisms, and produces a spirit of self-sacrifice and self-devotion to the common good. One of the remedies proposed by Huber is what he terms "Inner Colonization," *i.e.* the formation of colonies consisting of about one hundred and fifty houses, each house to contain four families under its roof, with a garden attached to it. A common steam-engine would perform the necessary work of each colony. The wholesale purchase of provisions and the preparation of food as far as possible on the associative principle, so as to serve the whole colony, or several members of it, would save much waste in money, work, and fuel, and add to the general comfort of all without interfering with the seclusion of domestic life. The acquisition of machinery by means of a collective fund and the erection of these improved dwellings on a general plan, as well as the wholesale purchase of the materials and articles of consumption, would, no doubt, require capital and credit, but the accumulated sum of only one shilling daily contributed by every member of the colony would supply the capital

clusion of State interference as held by Lassalle's chief opponent Schulze-Delitzsch. See V. A. Huber, "Ein Vorkämpfer der Socialen Reform von Dr. Eugen Jäver," pp. 72-78, the memoir referred to above. There is also a larger life of Huber by Rudolf Elvers, of Wenigerode, published in Bremen, 1874.

and interest upon it. Voluntary contributions from benevolent manufacturers, the aristocracy, and Government subsidies might supply any deficiency in case the stream of contributions from the labourers should flow less rapidly from an unforeseen reason. But after a time the labourers might take care of themselves, and the colonies become entirely self-supporting and self-governing.

What may be done by way of raising the working classes with the aid of their employers he showed from a number of instances which came under his notice during several of his visits to this country. He dwells with grateful pleasure on what he saw in the philanthropic efforts of the managing directors, the Brothers Wilson, at Price's Patent Candle Manufactory at Belmont, and the consequent kindly relationship subsisting between the masters and the men. He contrasts this with the unfeeling and purely selfish method of treating the workmen simply as part of the machinery, whose services are paid for according to the rate of labour in the market without any regard to those claims of human sympathy and regard. In one of his letters from Leeds, he relates that he had just been breakfasting with some co-operative friends at the same hotel, and at the same table; which was occupied a short time before by six "Cotton or Woollen Lords," who between them employed no less than thirty thousand labourers, but took not the slightest interest in the personal welfare of any one of them.

On the other hand, he was delighted with Mr. Marshall's linen factory, and the manifest effort of the employer to watch over the health and happiness of his workmen, endeavouring to promote, not only their material, but also their moral and spiritual welfare. Alluding to this remarkable instance of dutiful regard

to the rightful claims of labour, he adds: "No one can be more willing than I am to point out the merits of such representatives of the industrial aristocracy." And he is true to his word. With glowing enthusiasm he describes the works of Mr. Salt, at Saltaire, near Bradford, and speaks of the commodious dwelling-houses, the church and the schools, with other institutions provided by the owner to secure for his *employés* those benefits which the co-operative societies offer to their clients; and in this, again, he sees an example of "latent association under absolute monarchical rule on a large scale."

This patriarchal form of co-operation, under the direction of the Plutocracy, the aristocracy, or the monarchy, had a special attraction for Huber, and he bitterly complains of the supine indifference and want of appreciation of his scheme among the rulers in Church and State in Germany. It is their life of ease, he complains, which incapacitates them for thoroughly understanding the real condition of the poor.

As a religious man, he felt convinced that in making the people's cause his chief object of solicitude a Church performs her true functions and promotes best the real interests of religion. "The labouring classes are the battle-field on which the contest must be decided between Christian civilization and a new and more than heathen barbarism." Hence the importance of winning the affections and esteem of the multitude, and so becoming established in the hearts of the people.

This religious tendency prevents Huber from giving more than a scanty measure of praise to Mr. Owen, otherwise a man and a co-operator after his own heart, because of the anti-religious sentiments so loudly and injudiciously avowed by this enthusiast and philanthropist. But he dwells with pardonable severity on the

narrow-minded frivolity and ambitious self-seeking of the great body of the clergy of that day, who had no understanding for the great social questions of the day, and clung tenaciously to the old order of things which was fast passing away, and so lost the chance of *capessere republicam*, to use Huber's expression, at a critical moment of transition to the new.

To illustrate this, Huber mentions a conversation with some artisans in the library of the Coventry Co-operative Society. He had inquired as to the attitude of the Church towards the co-operative movement. The answer he received was this, "Well, sir, I suppose the Church does not care anything about us poor people, and so we come not to care much for her either—the more's the pity!"

One of the Rochdale Pioneers, speaking on the same topic, remarked, by way of contrasting the efforts of the Church of Rome in this direction with the lethargy and rigid indifference of the Church of England, "This (the Romish Church) is the poor man's church after all, if there is such a thing for him and he wants it." *

During a visit to York, he was told of the madman Martin, who had set fire to the Minster in 1829, and when charged with the crime declared that he had "a mission from on high to destroy this monument of worldly grandeur in the Church and her ministers, and as a warning against her carnal self-seeking, self-confidence, and indolence, especially her neglect of the poor, and her lenient indulgence towards the faults of the wealthy, with whom she makes common cause."

* "Genossenschaftliche Briefe," vol. ii. pp. 244, 245, cf. p. 258. He quotes the words of the Rev. Rector Campbell, of Liverpool, in an address to the Liverpool Working-men's Church Association, delivered in January, 1813:—"I know it is the boast of the Church of England to be the poor man's Church, but I am afraid it is only our boast."

Huber looks on this act as significant as to the state of public and private feeling regarding the Establishment at that time, and adds significantly that such a warning was as necessary as it was wholesome.

If Huber found little to encourage him in his efforts of reforming society from above by a coalition of gentry and clergy, and can only point to a few isolated instances of patronizing endeavour on the part of employers to improve the condition of the working people, he sees much to inspire him with hope in the conscientious efforts at self-improvement from below among the people themselves, and is never tired of pointing to the marvellous advances of the co-operative movement among them in this country.

He is not blind, indeed, to the weaknesses and imperfections of co-operation, as he saw it then, in the earlier stages of its development. Thus, in a lecture on the subject delivered before the Central Society for the Welfare of the Working Classes in Germany, in 1852, he cannot help pointing out that one of their inherent deficiencies is the retention of the purely egotistic ways of doing business in the management of "stores" which is inconsistent with the true principles of co-operation. He shows that in thus continuing the system of "the trades" co-operation has no right to assume the title of Christian Socialism, which makes self-sacrifice and not self-advantage the life-principle of human transactions. To identify their co-operative undertakings with Christian Socialism, he says, either rests on a confusion of ideas, or on a conscious attempt at gaining popularity on false pretences. At the same time he fully recognizes the superior qualities of mind and heart required in co-operators of even an imperfect type, and speaks of the evident power of co-operation in its lower stages to form

character and to serve as a training institution to inculcate the lessons of thrift and foresight, and as a disciplinary power to organize vast bodies of men in a common cause.

But its chief value, he thinks, lies in the tendency of co-operation to remove class differences, in bringing rich and poor nearer to each other, and transforming a number of impoverished labourers into comfortable proprietors. In thus diminishing the causes of discontent and envious strife, it consolidates the foundations of social order and peace, it becomes the *vis naturae medicatrix*, the self-healing power of society. In one of his letters from London he confesses that even in its ultimate development co-operation may be only one stage in the process of social self-rectification and self-purification, but even as such he expects from it great social changes, and regards its rapid progress in accumulating capital and gaining credit as a mere indication of its future success.

Here we pause, having thus given an imperfect and far from exhaustive sketch of the life and labours of a very remarkable man. We have not dwelt, for want of space, on Huber's schemes of co-operative agriculture, nor his reasons for some of the failures of the movement. We have not thought it necessary to allude to his vindication of the principle which allows labour to participate in the profits of capital. But enough has been said to give a fair view of the social theories of a man who from first to last devoted his time and his talents to the cause of improving the condition of the least prosperous classes on Christian principle. The work of pioneers is never fully appreciated at the time; it must be so in the nature of things. Huber was one of the pioneers of social progress, and died a disappointed man. But he has secured for himself an honoured place in the history

of Christian Socialism, and will ever rank high among those who disinterestedly have devoted their lives to benefit mankind.

“In many ways he may have erred,” says his biographer, “but his character was so pure, his life so exemplary, his aims so purely noble, that he may rightly be counted among the choice spirits of our nation. He has not been remarkable for any great act of statesmanship, nor will his name be recorded in the annals of political revolutions, but in the far more important history of the social movement of the people he will ever occupy a prominent place.”

CHAPTER VII.

THE STATE SOCIALISTS, OR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL PARTY,
IN GERMANY.

THIS title is somewhat misleading, since those to whom it is applied, and who cheerfully accept the appellation, are so far from being Socialists, in the ordinary sense of the word, that the name "Defenders of Society on Church and State Principles" would convey a more correct idea of their aims and purposes to English readers. Properly speaking, they are Conservative would-be saviours of society, who see no other means of escape from the present social dilemma but in a firm alliance between Crown and Altar for the purpose of regenerating society. Huber, described in the previous chapter, the Privy Councillor Wagener, and Rudolf Meyer, the well-known historian of the "fourth estate" (by which he means the working classes), had formed at one time the triumvirate of religious Conservatives, who thus tried to "save the Republic." The Court-Chaplain Stöcker and Pastor Todt may be regarded as the clerical representatives of the same party at a later stage of its formation.

In 1878, Wagener published a pamphlet, not under his own name, on the solution of the social question "from the practical standpoint of an experienced statesman." It contains the fundamental doctrines of the party, and a few extracts from it will be all the more

interesting from the fact that the writer is, or was, a *persona grata* with, if not an intimate friend of, the German Chancellor.

Modern Socialism, according to Wagener, is the third act of "that great European tragedy of fate," the French revolution. The leading idea of that revolutionary movement all along has been to extend the possession of liberty and property. Nothing can avert the coming catastrophe but timely reforms like those in England, where social politics in favour of the working classes have prevented the latter from regarding society and the State as their natural enemies. The monarchy of the future to be strong must be rooted in the heart of the people. Such was the policy of great Prussian rulers like Frederick II. and statesmen like Stein. A strong "social kingdom" alone can save society; for a powerful government can afford holding itself aloof from petty interests, and thus becomes the natural protector of the weak and poor. Royalty in France fell because of its alliance with the doomed nobility. Modern Royalism, leaning for its support on cotton lords and speculating baronets, will fare no better, for its fate is linked to an industrial aristocracy, the fall of which, too, is certain.

At present, indeed, socialistic schemes appear in the form of nebular theories, where the obscurity often serves the purpose of veiling deep designs for the "liquidation of society." What is wanted is a department of labour, appointed as part of a powerful administration. Such a department of government would treat the social question as urgent, and prepare an independent programme to deal with it thoroughly and energetically. It would collect trustworthy and impartial inquiries into the natural capacities and requirements of the labour power

of the country, and bring about a proper adjustment in the relationship between capital and labour.

✓ In the mean time its province would be to insure the protection of health and security against accidents for the employed, the limitation of Sunday labour and the employment of women and children in factories, the appointment of factory inspectors, the fixing of a normal day of labour, the establishment of conciliation courts, and the resuscitation and modern adaptation of the ancient guild system. As only the State has the power for effecting such sweeping changes, those who would promote them are properly called State Socialists.*

This form of State Socialism, or, as it is sometimes called, "Royal Socialism," was, at the time, not only approved of in highest quarters, but also acted upon, and in this lies the chief interest of the movement. Thus the speech from the Throne, delivered by the Emperor in November, 1881, contains this remarkable passage—

"Already in February of this year we caused our conviction to be expressed that the remedy of social evils was not exclusively to be found in the repression of social democratic excesses, *but also in positively promoting the welfare of the working classes*; . . . it dwells in the claims of 'the needy and indigent,' and the greater security and amplitude of assistance 'which they have a right to claim.'"

* In a later publication, forming a critique of the faults of the Christian Social movement, Wagener regards the political oneness of the movement, supported as it is mainly by Conservatives, and the disunion between Protestants and Catholics, the one overrating the power of the State, the other endeavouring to make it subject to the Church, and the general tendency of both trying to make political capital out of the popularity accruing to parties in Church or State—not to mention the Jew-baiting propensities of some Christian Socialists—as the chief causes of failure. See "Die Mängel der Christlich-Socialen Bewegung," Minden, 1885.

It refers to a "supplementary measure having for its object the regulated organization of our industrial, invalid, and relief societies," and "the closer connection of the material forces of the national life, and the gathering of them together in the form of corporate associations under State protection." Shortly before Prince Bismarck, referring to the "patrimony of the disinherited" workers of society, had said this was "the essence and aim of the present imperial policy, in contrast to the cold theory that the poorer classes have merely to carry on the bitter struggle for existence with their own resources, and without any help from the State."*

Side by side of this "Royal Socialism," or Socialistic Cæsarism, we have a kind of Christian Socialist Clericalism, which finds its expression in the speeches and pamphlets of the Court-Chaplain, Stöcker, and in the more solid works of Pastor Todt. The history of this clerical section of the Conservative Socialist party, which was soon divided into two streams, one of which has been lost since in the sand, is rather interesting, and the information here given is taken entirely from original documents obtained by the present writer from the parties concerned. It materially helps us to follow up the history of Christian Socialism to the present day. Of Todt's principal work we shall speak later on. Here it is sufficient to remark that, owing to its appearance at a time when the Socialist craze in Germany was

* The Imperial message of April 15, 1883, once more refers to this duty of the paternal Government to watch over the welfare of the people. It mentions the Bill for the remission of taxes in the two lowest classes of the kingdom, carried in the Prussian *Land-Tag*, as one of the salutary effects of the efforts of State Socialism. It also refers to the introduction of two bills for the deliberation of the German Diet, one for the relief of workpeople in sickness, and the Insurance Against Accidents Bill, which have now become law.

at its height, it naturally found many readers among religious people. The author was appealed to by his sympathizers to found a society to carry his theory into practice. He accepted the invitation, and addressed himself to Stöcker, whom he had previously known, and who at that time was staying with the Emperor at Gastein, as Court-Chaplain. Stöcker expressed his willingness to join and even to feel his way with the Court, but this was not easy. An association was formed and soon gained adherents in "Christian circles." It called itself the "Central Union for Social Reform on a Religious Constitutional Monarchical basis." It sent forth an appeal to the clergy, reminding them that the hour had come for the Church to bestir itself to meet the social crisis with the spiritual weapons at its command, as an Evangelical body. Two fundamental principles are laid down in the programme, one indicating the duties of the State, the other those of the Church—

1. That thorough reforms have become necessary in order to inspire the enfranchised masses with confidence towards the Government.

2. That the solution of the social question is impossible without the co-operation of the moral and religious factors, and the Church's recognition of the just demands of the fourth estate (the working men).*

Among the objects of the association are mentioned the diffusion of a wholesome literature for the purpose of stemming the tide of materialistic and revolutionary modes of thought and feeling among the masses; the publication of a paper, the *Staats Socialist*, for the exposition of free discussion of burning questions in political

* The motto of the *Staats Socialist*, the former organ of the party, was, "The social question exists, but it can only be solved by a strong monarchical State, allied with the religious and moral factors of national existence

economy ; the collection and organization of the scattered loyal elements among the people as the best available means of defence against the anarchical attempts of social democracy ; and the full expression both in word and deed of sympathy with the rightful demands of the working classes, to assure them of the support of the "main pillars" of society, the Church and the State.

The appeal met with a ready response, and for a time all went on smoothly. Soon, however, an accident occurred, which had a damaging effect on the further development of the movement. A certain Grüneberg, who afterwards proved to be an impostor, but gave himself out as a converted Social Democrat, prevailed on Stöcker to hold a public discussion in which he, Grüneberg, was to confront his former colleagues in open controversy. The meeting was convened, not without some misgivings on the part of the promoters, when Grüneberg's utter incapacity to meet the arguments of the Social Democrats turned it into a fiasco, though Stöcker came to the rescue. Most, the opponent whom Grüneberg had thus ineffectually confronted, expressed his willingness to meet more competent antagonists, and other public meetings were arranged accordingly. The result of this was the collection of a small band of labourers round Stöcker, and it was felt desirable with this nucleus to found a "Christian Social Labour Party," distinct from, but in full sympathy with, the original association. The latter continued to address itself to the ruling classes, the former to the labour population of Berlin. But Todt and his friends felt themselves much hampered in their efforts by the prejudice created against their body by the incident referred to, which brought the Christian Socialists generally into discredit. Stöcker resigned accordingly in May, 1878, and notified his

action publicly, and after that the two societies for a time existed side by side, practically represented by the same organ, the *Staats Socialist*.

The law against the Socialists had a discouraging effect on the efforts of Todt's party. His book was denounced by the Chancellor in the Diet. Stöcker, indeed, was characterized on that occasion by the same authority as a "terrible" person. But we imagine the popularity of the Court-Chaplain has not permanently suffered in consequence. Even the Christian Social Labour Party seems to have found favour in the eyes of the great Chancellor and his royal master, for its deputation, headed by Stöcker himself, has been graciously received on the occasion of the Emperor's birthday since, and he himself was present by invitation at a meeting held in the house of Count Waldersee in November, 1887, when Prince William, who had called the meeting, some Ministers of State and leaders of the Conservative parties and the Church took counsel as to the best means of strengthening, as the prince said, the hands of the inner mission, so as to bring the masses back to Christianity, since Christian evangelization is the best antidote of the doctrines of the Social Democracy.

The *Staats Socialist*, like similar publications we have mentioned in previous papers, has had ill-fortune from the beginning. After a season of prolonged suffering from intellectual and financial depletion, it expired in March, 1882, in the fifth year of its existence. The following are its dying words:—"The committee find it necessary to discontinue the *Staats Socialist* at the close of this quarter, as the further development of the Christian social movement requires other instruments for its propaganda."

It has been succeeded by the *Christian Social*

Correspondence, the new organ of the party for "agitational purposes." At the same time a change has taken place in the external organization of the Christian social party. Its two branches have merged into one "Central Association for Christian Social Reform," with Stöcker and Professor Adolph Wagner for its presidents. At a late general meeting of this society Todt is reported to have said, that now Prince Bismarck had taken in hand the economic measures demanded by the society their work was nearly over.

Having given a rapid sketch of the history of the movement, we may now proceed to give a short account of what may be called the two collateral branches of the Christian social movement.

The object of Todt's volume is to state in an unprejudiced form the principles of Socialism generally, and German Socialism in particular; to compare the principles of the Social Democratic party with those of the New Testament, and after stating the social principles contained in the latter, to gather from them the respective duties of society, the State, and the Church, in the settlement of the social question. Socialism, he says, is the "effort to reconcile, by the establishment of a new social and economic order of things, the keenly felt contradiction between the actual condition of society and the social ideal as conceived by certain sections of the community."

He partly admits that, from the Christian standpoint, the existence of this contradiction must be acknowledged, so that "every active Christian, sincere in his belief, must have a vein of Socialism in him; whilst every Socialist, however ill disposed towards Positive Christianity and the Church, bears about him unconsciously something of the principles of Christianity."

The practical objects of modern Socialism are reduced under three heads by Todt:—*Republicanism*, as affecting the State; *Communism*, as affecting social economy; and *Atheism*, as touching religion.

We must pass over the first, as unsuitable in a work on Christian Socialism; the last will be dealt with in a later chapter.

The communistic idea, says Todt, which underlies all socialistic schemes, takes for granted that much evil exists in our present social arrangements; that its root is *selfishness*, and its remedy the opposite of selfishness, *i.e. solidarity* of human interests. This statement, he remarks, is quite consistent with gospel teaching. In fact, the social constitution of the early Christian Church rested on such a common basis, although the communism of the primitive Christians was only partial and purely voluntary, the result of individual enthusiasm as opposed to the retention of individual right of property. The expansion of the communistic idea implies two leading principles and their consequences:—1. The triad liberty, equality, and fraternity; 2. The transformation of private ownership in land and the instruments of production into collective property. From these follow—(3) the demand for associative, or co-operative production; which would have for its results (4) the abolition of the wages system in favour of a more complete enjoyment of the results of labour by the labourer; and with it (5) the removal of the evils complained of, and the consummation of human happiness.

Todt, like Charles Kingsley and others, has no difficulty in showing that liberty, equality, and fraternity are ideas not only reconcilable with, but the outcome of, the Christian idea, though, as he shows, not always practically realized in Christian society. He also

shows that the institution of private property in some of its abuses was objected to often enough in the mediæval Church and by some of the early reformers, and adds that it originates in heathen egotism and finds its sanctions in Roman rather than Germanic Christian law.

But the compulsory abolition of the one system in favour of the other finds no encouragement whatever in the pages of the New Testament. If an "associative" community with collective property, and on co-operative principles, is possible at all, it must be one where the Christian principle of self-denial is paramount, not otherwise. But this must be voluntary.

Still, he maintains, something has to be done in the mean time by way of protecting the weak, and it is the duty of the State to watch over the welfare of those classes who cannot improve and develop unaided. The Church more especially must be on the alert. Passive inaction, timid indifference, and want of tactical skill in dealing with the social question, he complains, have been the characteristic faults of Evangelical Churchmen. Hence the electoral successes of Socialists in Protestant districts. Henceforth, by direct and indirect efforts in improving the condition of the working classes, by insisting on the duties of the rich to regard property as a committed trust, and opposing the corroding tendencies of an ungodly and self-indulgent Mammonism in both, the Church must help in repairing social disorders. Hence the importance of an effective propaganda for the diffusion of Christian social ideas.

Agitation in the ranks of clerical officialism is not a common phenomenon. But the Christian social party of Germany has produced an agitator of this description in the person of the Court-Chaplain Stöcker. Stöcker

is the son of a non-commissioned officer. He was Army Chaplain in Metz after the Franco-Prussian War, from 1871-4; and since then has occupied his present position. His military descent may explain to some extent his ardour and soldier-like intrepidity in the Church Militant.

Stöcker has many enemies and also many warm friends and admirers, and it is natural that he should be overmuch praised by the one, or blamed too severely by the other. He is called the "Tartuffe in social politics," by the former, and the "Perl of the German people," by the latter; but a well-known writer on social subjects who has full personal knowledge of the man, and whose official position is a security for his unbiased judgment, assures us that Stöcker is deserving of high esteem, and would be far more useful and effective as a social reformer if he was not a Protestant clergyman; for it is one of the misfortunes of Germany that her Protestant clergy have scarcely any social influence. There is no doubt, however, on this point, that Stöcker has the right qualifications for a public orator. His inflammatory speeches are listened to with enthusiasm by his own party, and his pamphlets, short, pithy, and direct, command general attention. With a demagogue's readiness Stöcker popularizes the social politics and humanitarian theories of others, without adding anything materially of his own. He obtained an unpleasant notoriety among the Berlin public by his anti-Semitic agitation, whilst his fulminations against the Bourgeoisie and the Liberal press gained for him the sympathies of the Conservative party, by whose influence he obtained a place in the House of Representatives. The Christian social party under his leadership count now seven thousand members, most of whom reside in Berlin. We have

read and re-read a very large number of Stöcker's speeches, with a view to get a clear idea of his social views, but cannot help being disappointed with the absence of clear and defined statements. Stöcker never gets beyond vague generalities and rhetorical phrases, appeals to patriotism, bursts of religious enthusiasm, and demands for social reforms introduced by State authority, without troubling himself much as to the manner in which they can be practically accomplished.

Instead, therefore, of giving a detailed account of Stöcker's opinions, we prefer passing on to the last of the Christian Socialists to be mentioned in this connection, the friend, and latterly the fellow-worker, of Stöcker, Adolph Wagner, the learned Professor of Political Economy in the University of Berlin. Wagner is what few of the Christian Socialists whom we have been considering claim to be, a recognized master in the science of Political Economy. As a young man of twenty-three, he had already sufficiently distinguished himself to receive a call as Professor of Political Economy in the newly founded Academy of Commerce in Vienna. The celebrated Roscher reckons him among the best experts of Germany in matters of finance and banking, and his published works, as well as his previous successes as a tutor in several German universities, have gained for him a well-earned fame. Moreover, Wagner is a politician of note, and his eloquence and learning have all along vigorously supported the several attempts of Prince Bismarck to introduce economic measures, such as the reform of taxation, the tobacco monopoly, and general compulsory insurance for the good of the working classes. It is not Wagner's fault if they have failed in consequence of party manœuvres and other causes which we need not dwell upon here. In Wagner's suggestions for social reform

we have something more than humanitarian aspirations and vague statements. We have the recondite utterances of the economist, and with him Christian Socialism enters into what may be termed the scientific stage, and comes within the range of practical social politics.

In a speech published ten years ago, before a mixed assembly of Churchmen in the Royal Garrison Church of Berlin, Wagner formulated forcibly and fearlessly his opinions on this subject. Endorsing some of the socialistic criticisms on the evils of competition, and giving a partial and guarded support to some of the demands for State help, he concludes in saying that the true remedy for the present social discontent lies in voluntary concessions on the part of the privileged classes rather than in changes enforced by authority. On the other hand, he is opposed to the system of *laissez faire, laissez aller*, and the extravagant notions of the Manchester school on this head. His criticism is mainly directed against the tendency of regarding the *present* state of things as *necessary* according to natural laws, instead of dwelling on the state of things as it *ought to be* according to a higher moral law. According to the ethical aspect of economic laws property is regarded in the light of a trust rather than an absolute possession, and self-indulgent luxury of the few at the expense of the many is a wrong done to society. Wagner condemns severely the irresponsible abuse of the rights of the property in land where the unearned increment of value only ministers to private advantage. He notes the dangerous tendency of our times towards increasing the gulf between wealth and poverty, which intensifies class antagonisms. He laments the alarming accumulation of large capital without corresponding benefit to those who are mainly instrumental in creating it. He shows how it becomes

more and more difficult for the wage-earning classes to raise themselves, and how they of all sections of society draw the least advantage from progress in the technical arts.

There are three ways for ameliorating their condition, he says—the *reactionary*, the *radical*, and the *reformatory* methods. He rejects the former two in favour of the last. “Reform,” he says, “is neither subversive, nor stagnant, nor retrogressive;” *i.e.* in other words, it is progressive without being revolutionary. He examines the various projects we have already mentioned for improving mankind, and after showing their advantages and disadvantages, comes to speak of his own specific proposals. Among them may be mentioned—

a. The establishment of independent productive associations, not supported by the State, but enjoying legal protection. He would also extend the principle of co-operation to some branches of the public service as an experiment and example.

b. He points out the desirability of—

(1) Raising the normal price of labour, not by authority, as is sometimes demanded by State Socialists, but through the instrumentality of labour boards and arbitration courts, fixing a fair day's wage for a fair day's work.

(2) Compulsory insurance until, as in the case of compulsory education, the benefits of the system are appreciated by the masses of the population. As it would extend over all classes, the burden on the poor would be comparatively light.

(3) Factory laws for the sanitary protection of the labourers, specially women and children.

(4) Reduction of the cost of articles of consumption by means of distributive stores.

(5) The intellectual, moral, and religious elevation of the lower orders.

(6) The partial abolition of indirect taxation, the levying of progressive income tax and succession duties, and other similar legislative measures introduced voluntarily by the ruling classes to conciliate those below, and thus by a *caritative system*—a term first introduced into text books on Political Economists by Wagner—to secure social peace.

“The lesson taught by history throughout,” he remarks justly enough, “is this, that by means of such timely reforms social revolutions may be averted. If by such sacrifices of the wealthy it is possible to ease the shoulders of the poor, no time ought to be lost in making the attempt.” “I am clear on this head,” he concludes, “that I have not suggested what may be called a *solution* of the social question. Such a solution, in the proper sense of the word, is impossible. Poverty and wretchedness, need and penury, competence and affluence, these differences of fortune will always coexist side by side in the world independently of real merits and personal faults. But it is our duty to *lessen* the resulting evils and existing inequalities to the best of our power. This is possible to a very large extent. When we shall have accomplished this, then we shall have done what it was our bounden duty to perform. Thus much may be expected of us, neither less nor more.”

With these words of truth and soberness of the latest if not the last and certainly not the least of Christian Socialists, we may appropriately bring our account of this movement to a close.

What have been its effects in the larger movement of which it is only a religious pendant, so to speak? Socialists, as a body, regard the movement with mingled feelings of suspicion and contempt. From the very first,

and at the very moment when the Socialist Most engaged with Stöcker in several public discussions on Socialism and the social question under the auspices of the newly formed Labour party, the followers of Most met the efforts of what they called *Mucker-Socialismus* (Pietist Socialism) by the famous *Massenaustritt*, or public disavowal of Church membership. In other words, the efforts of the clerical party, professing State Socialism, were met by a counter-movement of anarchical Socialists, who reject with scorn this latest offer of reconciliation with society under the patronage of a "God-fearing monarchy."

It has been remarked on this head, as a notable fact, that the Protestant Church has never been a great social force in the land of Luther, though the agrarian Socialism of the times formed a most important element in the Reformation of the sixteenth century. And it is a remarkable fact that, in its external aspect as an ecclesiastical organization, the Protestant Church of Germany has exercised little social influence as compared with the Romish Church.

There are several reasons for this. The Protestant Church appeals to the reason and judgment rather than the dutiful obedience of her people. Hence she has no command over the masses to affect the balance of political parties, so as to bring social pressure to bear on the legislation of the country by a contrary vote. Again, the proneness of dissidency of opinion among her members forms an element of weakness in the social influence of the Protestant Church. In the clamour of dissonant voices discussing the flaming questions of the day, the Church ought to be able to speak with the calm authority of a body conscious of its strength in the union of sentiment and undivided effort. In the absence

of these, there has been hitherto nothing else but failure in the various attempts of the Protestant Church to reconcile social disharmonies in "the typical country of class antagonisms."

Last of all, as throughout the whole course of its history the over-readiness of Protestantism to lean on the arm of secular authority has proportionately diminished its spiritual influence, so, too, it has been unfortunately the peculiar characteristic of the Protestant clergy in Germany to be subservient to the governing classes and domineering towards the "common people." Hence the synthesis of *Junker und Pfaffen* (squires, and parsons), in popular phraseology, as an evidence of this tendency in the past. Hence, too, the reluctance of the people now to accept the mediatorial office of the Church as the arbitrator between themselves and those whom they have learned to consider the Church's patrons.

CHAPTER VIII.¹LATEST PHASE OF CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM ABROAD
AND AT HOME.

IN a preceding chapter we have described the Christian Socialism of the Catholic party inaugurated by Bishop Ketteler in Germany. We must now introduce our readers to a similar contemporaneous movement, calling itself sometimes "Catholic Socialism" in France and Belgium. And we turn to France in the first place, as, indeed, it might claim the right of being called the birthplace of modern Christian Socialism. For the Duke of Saint-Simon, as the author of the "*Nouveau Christianisme*," has been called the father of Christian Socialism; but, without disputing his prior claims to the title, we must turn to forms more recent and more positively religious than his in our survey of the movement in France. From the very first, and still more so of late years, peculiar circumstances have produced two tendencies, if not two schools, of Christian Socialism in that country. One of them is connected with the reactionary movements which followed upon the two great social Revolutions in 1793 and 1848 respectively; the other, assuming the form of Liberal Catholicism, is mainly influenced by the social reformatory movements between the two Revolutions in 1830

and 1848, having for its object the endeavour to adapt itself to the exigencies of modern society, and adopting corresponding methods of social improvement.

Both, however, are at one in their remonstrance against existing social evils, as the result of political changes and arrangements founded on the Deistic philosophy of the eighteenth, or the materialistic creeds of the nineteenth century. Both look to the revival of Christian beliefs and the "rehabilitation" of Church influence as the only possible means of saving society. There are differences of opinion as to the methods of treatment, though there is perfect agreement as to the nature of the social disease. Ultramontanes and Liberal Catholics alike ascribe the disorders from which society is suffering to the combined effects of the first French Revolution, and the almost contemporaneous revolution of industry through the use of steam and machinery. The Revolution, they say, in removing every restraint to individual freedom, introduced the principle of unlimited competition. But the latter enables the capitalist or manufacturer, who is in possession of all the implements of labour and production to grow rich at the expense of the wage-earning classes. The latter depend on him for employment, so that, though legally—on the principle of free contract—making their bargain with the employer of labour on equal terms, they practically become in course of time, and by force of circumstances, mere appendages of the machine at which they work. Thus the Revolution, whilst upholding perfect equality before the law, has established a great inequality of social condition, which gives a keen edge to the antagonisms between the men and their masters, the former demanding a larger share in the distribution of wealth, the latter either systematically resisting or reluctantly admitting their claims.

This strife of conflicting interests is aggravated by the evil consequences of over-production and hazardous speculation, since the effects of every monetary crisis are felt more acutely by the least prosperous portion of the community, and resented as an additional social injustice. All this, it is asserted, must sooner or later lead to a pitched battle between the large majority of the people on the verge of pauperism, and a rapidly diminishing minority who happen to be the sole owners of all the factors of industry excepting manual labour—a civil war threatening the very existence of our modern civilization, as was shown in the short episode of the Commune established in Paris seventeen years ago.

Society thus being in danger, nothing can save it but the revival of Christian sentiment, which would restore a profound sense of social duty and devotion in all classes, counteracting the corroding influences of materialistic egotism, and instilling the spirit of love and order in the heart of society, as a means of reforming it from within, on the basis of mutual toleration and co-operation, exemplified in the constitution of the Christian Church.

These are the leading principles of the two sections of French Christian Socialism. Their differences are in the application, one side leaning more towards the unconditional surrender to Church authority for compassing these social aims, the other inclined more towards a philosophical application of the principles of equal rights and reciprocal duties laid down in the New Testament. De Maistre, Lamennais, Lacordaire, on the one hand, Bonald, Le Play, and le Comte de Mun on the other, represent in the order we have placed them—though not in chronological sequence—the ascending and descending scale from and to the Ultramontane standpoint of Chris-

tian Socialism. It corresponds with, as it was affected by, a similar contemporaneous oscillation between the policy of reaction and revolution in the public mind of France.

What are the distinguishing characteristics will best be seen from a short comparative view of the more liberal system of social reform by Le Play, and the more pronounced ecclesiastical programme of le Comte de Mun.

Le Play, although by his own confession a disciple of Bonald—"the most important politician of French Ultramontanism"—is by no means a blind follower of his master's teaching, except in his negative criticism of the "principles of 1789." In this respect both may be said to take for their motto De Maistre's paradox: "*Si la contre-révolution n'est pas divine, elle est nulle.*" In other respects Le Play, as a layman and scientist, is unhampered by religious prejudices in his social inquiries. In fact, up to the close of his career—that is, not until shortly before his death (April 15, 1882)—when he wrote a letter full of filial devotion to the Pope, Le Play's orthodoxy was by no means regarded as above suspicion. His works, though received with grateful recognition of the services they had rendered to religion, were subjected to severe scrutiny by the spirited champions of a less tolerant Catholicism than his own. Perhaps the pithy epithet applied to him by Sainte Beuve defines most accurately his religious standpoint: "Un Bonald rajeuni, progressif, et scientifique."

What entitles him to the name of Christian Socialist is the importance he assigns to religion in any possible scheme for the regeneration of society, and French society in particular. "Social science," he says, "leads its true observers constantly back to the principles of

the Divine law." The Divine law with him is the "everlasting Decalogue," as explained in the Sermon on the Mount. That is the conclusion he comes to at the close of half a century's travels and observations, in different countries of Europe and the East. As the founder of the "Unions de Paix," associations for the promotion of social peace, Le Play is one of the most remarkable as well as one of the most successful pioneers in the social "ministry of reconciliation," whose great object it is, in the words of St. Augustine, quoted by Le Play in his letter to Leo XIII. already referred to, "*ut multitudo in unitate pacis constituatur.*" What led Le Play to adopt this new line of studying the social problem of the day, we are told by himself. He left school at a time when youths in France were carried away by the captivating theories of Saint-Simonism, and threw themselves heart and soul into the socialistic movement. Le Play, unable to accept their doctrines, was yet at a loss for arguments to refute them, and so he determined to find out for himself the real causes of social discontent as well as their remedies. Taking Descartes for his guide, he determined to divest his mind of all preconceived opinions, and set out on a voyage of independent search. In his travels, whilst pursuing his scientific studies as Professor of Metallurgy in the French University, he had opportunities of observing the life of families in all parts of the world. His position as General Inspector of Mines gave him special facilities for conducting such inquiries. As the trusted counsellor of Napoleon III., and the Chief Commissioner of the three Universal Exhibitions in London and Paris, he had ample means of verifying his own conclusions by useful information obtained from persons in authority. In his social studies he proceeded strictly

on the principles of experiment and verification, treating the family as the molecule of social life, and the social question itself like a problem in chemistry. To master the minute details of domestic economy, he would often reside for a considerable time in the same house or locality, so as to make sure of sufficient data to build his theory upon. That theory he calls the theory of imitation, as distinguished from all others, which he calls theories of invention. The latter are deduced entirely, he says, from the abstract principles in the imaginative brains of the propounders. His own system is founded on an accurate induction of facts. What he demands is a close imitation of the manners and social habits of the most prosperous nations who have reached the highest level of mental, moral, and material development. Le Play's principal work, "*La Réforme Sociale*," made its appearance in 1864, and has since passed through six editions. What gives the work a peculiar interest is the wonderful perspicuity, almost amounting to prophetic vision, in which at that early date the author diagnosed the symptoms of that social cancer which reached its crisis seven years later, and from which French society has not yet recovered.

The central idea of Le Play's system is the reconstitution of society on the model of the family; as, indeed, he ascribes, in a measure, the dissolution of French society to the unhealthy development of family life. The family is the type of stability and order. Here in the happy union of benign authority in the patriarchal head and dutiful obedience in the household is bred that reverential regard for law, and deferential use of liberty, so rarely met united in our modern social arrangements. Here, too, is the common ground for the cultivation of that spirit of devotion and self-discipline

which are the fundamental pre-requisites of a healthy and harmonious development of social life. The "patronage libre" as existing in the family may be extended to the factory; and the creation of a new order of merit, the "social authorities," is to supply the place of an influential aristocracy such as exists still in England, where the landed gentry, according to Le Play, watch with paternal solicitude over the temporal and spiritual welfare of the people. This "hierarchy of merit" is to consist of men most distinguished for their success, not only in industrial enterprise or agriculture, but also in having established a happy relationship with those in their employ.

It has been said that the doctrine of Le Play resolves itself into a doctrine of social authorities. But there is an intimate connection between authority and tradition, and so we must not be astonished to see in Le Play's system regretful glances cast backwards on the traditional habits of the past, and an inclination to ascribe the social decay of his country to a disregard for them on the part of modern innovators. For, he says, contrasting the methods of material progress with the moral deterioration peculiar to an age of scientific discovery: "*La réforme des mœurs n'est point subordonnée à l'invention de nouvelles doctrines; car l'esprit d'innovation est aussi stérile dans l'ordre moral qu'il est fécond dans l'ordre matériel.*"

Here, then, is the meeting-point between Le Play and his Ultramontane allies—*i.e.* on the common ground of traditional beliefs; both take their stand on the rule laid down at the Council of Nice—

τὰ ἀρχαῖα εἶθ' ἡγεῖται.

This is the basis of operation in their common opposition

to the vagaries of individualism which have their root in the declaration of the "rights of men."

In the introduction to *La Réforme Sociale*, Le Play summarizes in two words the ideas of the Revolution—*l'antagonisme et l'instabilité*. They express the disorganization of society and the instability of government as the result of that sceptical creed which leaves every question to be solved by the individual reason, and rejects authority as incompatible with absolute freedom. To remove these evils, threatening social dissolution, both Le Play and his friends invoke the aid of religion to reform social morals and to give force and fervour to any future attempt at social reconstruction of Christian foundations. The demands made in Le Play's programme on the virtuous self-restraint and self-sacrifice of all classes requires a lofty sense of obligation which the Christian religion alone can supply. The power of self-control and self-effacement which he expects both in employer and employed comes from a strongly developed sense of duty. Hence the importance of displacing the *doctrinaire* system of the sceptical philosophers by the "social doctrine," resting on Catholic faith for its foundation.

The Comte de Mun is a warm admirer of Le Play, whom he regards as his master, but he goes far beyond him in his demands of "absolute obedience to the principles of the Catholic Church and the infallible teaching of the Sovereign Pontiff." When Le Play began his social studies, devout men in France were beguiled by a fair vision of *la Belle Union de l'Eglise et de la Liberté*. But the liberalizing tendency in the Gallican Church, which men like Lamennais and Montalembert regarded as the vernal breath of a Catholic revival, has disappeared with the generation of those noble-minded and

gifted Churchmen which rendered it famous. Nowadays, when statesmen once more pronounce it to be impossible to reconcile the Church with the Republic, because, in Gambetta's phrase, "*le cléricalisme c'est l'ennemi*," a large number of Catholics, especially among the young men of noble families in France, turn away with horror from the men of the Revolution, and Le Comte de Mun is their spokesman in the Chamber of Deputies. He is also the leader of Christian Socialists, acting as the general secretary of the "*Œuvre des Cercles Catholiques d'Ouvriers*," an association whose principles are avowedly based on the social doctrine of the Encyclical and Syllabus of 1864.

The "*Œuvre*" was founded by a group of French officers soon after the extinction of the Commune, for the purpose of organizing the labourers on Christian principles, and it admits a limited and select number of them to its board of administration. It aims at establishing a number of *cercles*, or Catholic associations, for masters and men all over France, and this for the purpose of ultimately forming the two into Christian corporations. The direction is placed in the hands of local committees in close connection with a central committee in Paris. It is an attempt, moreover, of bringing together the higher and lower classes of society by means of Christian sympathy, and so to effect social union. These Catholic working men's associations combine the advantages of a religious club, a co-operative supply association, and a labourer's friend society all in one. Eventually the "*Œuvre*" purposes to become the nucleus of a number of benevolent institutions to promote the welfare of the working man. Originally intended for the workmen of large towns, these associations have spread into the villages, and are now what the Comte de Mun calls

calmly settled "islets in the midst of immense populations agitated by the tempests of social war." There were 450 of these *cercles* in 1880; and several employers of labour, like the Christian philanthropist Harmel in the Val-des-Bois, are able to give most satisfactory reports of their own attempts to transform unruly colonies of workmen into quiet and industrious communities by the adoption of the principles of the *cercles*, and thus to establish a happy relationship between employer and employed.*

The members of the *cercles* make no secret of their intentions. Their professed object is "*La contre-révolution faite au nom du Syllabus et la grande entreprise du rétablissement de l'ordre chrétien dans le monde du travail*," i.e. "The counter-revolution made in the name of the Syllabus and the great enterprise of re-establishing the Christian rule of conduct in the world of labour." Without pronouncing judgment on the merits or demerits of the two systems, we cannot withhold from Le Play the just encomium bestowed on him by some of the most prominent economists of the day, who speak of him as a most faithful investigator of facts, and a most judicious advocate of morals and religion as factors of social life; nor can it be denied that the emphatic accentuation of the mediatorial office of the Church, on the part of Ultramontane Christian Socialists, as well as their vindication of the "caritative principle," or principle of love, in social economics, deserve all praise, and contain important truths, though they are met in company with ecclesiastical pretensions which weaken

* There is also a brochure by the same author, M. Charles Périn, under the title of "*Le Patron, sa Fonction, ses Devoirs, ses Responsabilités*" (Lille, 1886), which defines the duties of masters to their men—a very interesting study on this subject.

the force and hinder the ready acceptance of them among Catholic laymen in the present state of French society.

Belgium, with its flourishing industry and progressive national development, unaccompanied, however, by a corresponding improvement in the condition of its working population, presents a fair field for trying experimentally those principles of Christian Socialism we have just described. Here Roman Catholicism is the dominant religion, and one-half of the population (the Flemish) is perfectly amenable to Church authority. Many of the large employers of labour are friendly disposed towards the clergy, which facilitates the introduction of the "patronat libre," or patriarchal system, on the lines of liberty recommended by Le Play and his followers. As a neutral State, moreover, Belgium is comparatively free from those internal and external disturbances which form a serious impediment to social reforms in France. Here, too, the clerical party are quite strong enough to carry any legislative measure for ameliorating the condition of the labouring people, if inclined to do so. If little has been done until quite lately in this direction, it is mainly owing to the cautious reserve of the leading ecclesiastics, who prefer to use their personal influence with the employers of labour, to the perils and inconveniences of taking a leading part in social politics. But the utmost energy has been displayed in the formation of a federation of all Catholic associations of workmen which has existed for many years under the patronage of the Episcopate. One of the fathers of the Bolandist Convent in Brussels is its present director.

However, the success of the Christian Socialist party in Belgium lies rather in the field of literature. It has

thriven better in the studious shades of the Academy than in the arena of social and political warfare. Nowhere has the theory of Christian Socialism been brought to higher perfection than in Belgium, probably because here, as nowhere else, under the influence of free discussion, and in view of the sharply defined contrast of opinions between the two evenly balanced parties of Clericals and Liberals, the exigencies of controversial warfare have rendered both clearness and caution in statement indispensable. In the works of Charles Périn and Emile de Laveleye, written respectively from the Ultramontane and Liberal Catholic standpoint, we have, if not the most perfect schemes, at least the most enlarged views of Christian Socialism. M. de Laveleye, the author of the celebrated work on "Primitive Property," is too well known in this country to require any introduction. His pamphlet on "Protestantism and Catholicism in their bearing upon the Liberty and Prosperity of Nations," translated by Mr. Gladstone, is known to most readers. Périn, though highly respected on the Continent as a religious writer on economic science, and as the author of a work translated into German, and entitled "*De la Richesse dans les Sociétés Chrétiennes*," published so far back as 1861, is a less familiar name. He occupied the chair of Political Economy and Law in the Catholic University of Louvain for thirty-seven years, having retired as Emeritus professor in 1881, and is a corresponding member of the Institut de France; his work on the "*Laws of Christian Society*," prefaced by a Pontifical breve, dated February 1, 1875, is full of unqualified praise from the head of the Roman Catholic Church.

Three works have since appeared from his pen on the subject now under consideration—"Le Socialisme

Chrétien," in 1879, with an appended discourse delivered by C. Périn at the opening of the Congress of the Directors of the Roman Catholic Workmen's Association, at Chartres, August 9, 1878; and his last work but one, "Les Doctrines Economiques depuis un Siècle," published in 1880, which contains in its closing chapters a most interesting account of the various Catholic associations for the good of the working classes in France and Belgium. The last work, of mixed essays, contains the author's views on subjects of social interest which have occupied the attention of the world for the last twenty years.

Périn, too, founds social order on Divine authority, but he trusts to the moral influence of the Church rather than mechanical obedience to her laws, as pronounced *ex cathedra*.

"We are at present agreed among ourselves to proclaim the rule of Christian liberty as the law of economics, a liberty equally remote from the extremes of licence and absolutism, from the *laissez-faire* system, which is the boast of Liberals, and State control over life and property, which, in one form or another, Socialism proclaims to be just and necessary."

Périn allows that, in exceptional cases, repressive measures by the State are necessary; but under ordinary circumstances, he thinks, the preventive measures proposed by Christian Socialism in its endeavours to revive the moral force of self-restraint and self-denial will prove sufficient. He acknowledges the impossibility of returning to mediæval forms of corporate union, but strongly recommends the revival of that principle of Christian love which inspired them. But, he adds cautiously, in the present day the mutual relationship between masters and men, founded on the Christian idea

of solidarity, must be at once paternal and fraternal ; so that, whilst maintaining the patriarchal authority of the employer, this may not interfere with the equal rights of the employed. However, "sans la charité, rien ne se fera pour la solution du problème social."

Individualism, according to Périn, is the principal source of our social evils, and association the only remedy. By association he means not, however, the collectivism of the Socialists, "*l'association telle que les Catholiques la conçoivent, bien loin d'être égalitaire est essentiellement hiérarchique.*"

The work of restoring confidence and goodwill in the mutual intercourse between masters and men must be commenced by the masters, whose unbridled cupidity in times past has produced the existing disorder ; whilst their profane self-indulgence has, by the force of bad example, led to the moral degeneracy of their subordinates. If the individualism nursed by the revolutionary spirit acts as a dangerous solvent in society, it must be freed from its noxious imperfections ; but it cannot be displaced entirely now by a "Corporation Chrétienne." The task he assigns to Catholics is expressed in the following words:—

"To restore the Christian association in the labour world, as being in its nature free ; and to render Socialism superfluous, as in its nature unfree ; to develop and strengthen by means of association all those Christian virtues which Socialism either outrages or tries to represent as vices ; to give to labour, by means of these virtues, that constancy and well-proportioned strength which is able to produce true and solid wealth ; to re-establish equitable dealing in the relations of labourers of every rank by a simultaneous action of justice and charity ; to bring about a closer relationship and mutual attachment among members

of the association, governed as they are by the law of liberty and attracted to each other by the law of charity; . . . to produce everywhere union and mutual benevolence; whereas Socialism, on the contrary, sows discord and rivalry in every direction."

In short, we have here, in Périn's system, what Frenchmen might call a *Socialisme Chrétien épuré*—a system which rests, indeed, on the foundation of the Catholic doctrine of assent, which is identified with assent to the Christian principles of justice, truth, and love as adapted to the special needs of our own age.

M. de Laveleye has no sympathy with what Périn calls the hierarchical system of society. He is opposed alike to Ultramontanist pretensions and to the anti-Christian spirit of those Liberals who, in their dislike of clericalism, forget the importance of religion as a social force. His position is that of a Christian philosopher. As such, he reminds readers of the New Testament that Christianity is the "good news" to the poor, the promise of a kingdom in which the humble shall be exalted and the disinherited shall possess the earth. "We are beginning," he says, "to see signs from time to time, as well among the upper as the labouring classes, that the equalitarian ideas of the gospel will one day leaven our laws and institutions." In his work on "Contemporary Socialism," he shows that Christianity does not directly propose any particular plan of social reorganization, as its precepts are rather directed to the moral change of the individual; but, he adds, it must be confessed that the movement for social emancipation among the lower orders takes its rise in the claims of equality for all, established in the gospel of Christ, and that all attempts to ameliorate the condition of the people owe their inspiration to its teaching.

As a Liberal Catholic—perhaps more Liberal than Catholic—M. de Laveleye shows how, in discarding the religion of Christ because of the supposed alliance between the Church and the ruling classes, the masses are turning their back on their natural protectors. For in a scientific age which hands them over to those cruel laws of nature according to which the strong prevail over the weak in the struggle for existence, Christian love is needed to take up the cause of the helpless. The Darwinian theory of the survival of the fittest, he acutely observes, is on the side of inequality, whereas the spirit of equity in the Christian Church has at all times striven to restore the patrimony of the poor.

But Christian Socialism in Belgium is not always of this academic character. On the contrary, it is apt at times to be used as a political engine against Liberalism ; and in the very town with which M. de Laveleye is connected, and where of late two Social Catholic congresses have been held, at Liège, the Liberals suffered a defeat during the last autumnal elections to the Communal Councils, by a coalition of Socialists and Catholics, whilst the organ of the clerical party in Brussels declares its readiness to accept Universal Suffrage, which constitutes the chief cry of the Belgian Socialists at the present day.

Leo XIII., in a letter addressed to the Bishop of Liège, on the occasion of the meeting of the Catholic Congress of the "Œuvres Sociales de Liège," in 1886, had called special attention to the perils of the Social crisis, and the duty of Catholics in rising to the occasion and meeting it with ready "sympathy for the misery and sufferings of humanity." The appeal was enthusiastically responded to, and in their reply to this letter the Assembly speak of the Social question as "le problème

le plus redoutable," and trace its source to "des erreurs repandus dans le monde, et surtout du travail de *dé-christianisation* poursuivi depuis plus d'un siècle dans les classes supérieures d'abord et ensuite dans celle des travailleurs." They express their readiness to obey the Papal mandate, and to take part in "the glorious work which is to culminate in social peace;" but the reporter of the Congress, in concluding his survey, and speaking of the general impression prevailing at the Congress, says, "La grande lutte de la fin du siècle s'établira entre le catholicisme et le socialisme—le libéralisme est définitivement mis hors de combat."

These sentiments were re-echoed from France by the well-known Bishop of Angers, in his inaugural speech at the opening of the Congrès régional des cercles catholiques d'ouvriers, at that city, in October, 1886. "The twentieth century," said Bishop Freppel, in concluding his speech, "will be a century of strife, if not social wars, and the Church, in helping to bring about a successful issue, must give her support to secure the triumph of these three principles—association, patronage (*i.e.* patriarchal relations between employers and employed), and social protection (*i.e.* by means of legislation).

The latter subject received considerable attention at the last International Catholic Congress at Liège, under the presidency of the Cardinal Archbishop of Reims, and attended not only by prelates and other Roman Catholic dignitaries from different parts of Western Europe, but also by members of the Belgian Parliament, political economists, and employers of labour, like M. Hubert Valleroux, and M. Harmel. Several resolutions were passed in favour of compulsory insurance and legislative protection of women and children engaged

in factory labour, whilst the general complexion of the debates was peculiarly practical, and, concludes M. Urbain Guérin, a former disciple of Le Play, in his account of it, "Le Congrès de Liège de 1887, marque un nouveau progrès des idées sociales en Belgique. La marche des catholiques, à la fois résolue et prudente, nous garantit qu'ils ne s'arrêteront dans la voie réformatrice où ils sont en le glorieux mérite d'entrer."

Thus much about the "New Crusade," as Christian Socialists in France and Belgium call their work, abroad. The Christian Socialists at home, in their attempt to bring about an alliance between Christianity and the modern spirit, tried, as Colonel Maurice points out in the interesting life of his father, "not to Christian-socialize the universe, but to Christianize Socialism." They showed that all great social reforms demand religious enthusiasm, and that the renovation of individual character rather than the remodelling of human institutions leads to a true regeneration of society. Christianity, they felt, in curbing the selfish propensities, enables men to associate, since the Christian Church is a divine society as well as a human fraternity, having for its foundation justice, devotion, mutual love, and self-sacrifice. Their successors * in the present day

* By their successors we do not mean a body who have lately assumed the title of the "Christian Socialist Society," but whose view of Christianity, as will appear from the following programme, is not that of the followers of Maurice and Kingsley.

"CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST SOCIETY.

"The ideal of Christian Socialism is found in Jesus Christ, and all its operations will be based on the spirit of His life.

"The Christian Socialist Society believes that the measures which it advocates will, under the altered conditions of modern life, make it possible for men to put into practice the principles taught by Christ, and therefore makes a solemn appeal to all men to assist in its work.

accept these principles, but differ among themselves as to the mode of promoting them and the method of carrying them out in practice. There is what may be called the agglutinative method of one section, who endeavour to fraternize as far as possible, and further than at times seems desirable, with secular Socialists; there is the associative method of another section, who would encourage industrial partnership and co-operative experiment; and, lastly, there is the method of affectionate sympathy under Church patronage.

The aim of the first is "to make people divinely discontented with the present anarchy, to encourage them not to cease from *mental* strife till they have found some remedy," and in this pursuit "to apply openly and fearlessly the principles of the gospel of Jesus to the social problems of the day." A special feature of this form of Christian Socialism is the revival of the guild system to reassert the principle of collectivity, to "bind men

"The Society, then, is independent of all theological views, and welcomes as members all who desire to make self-sacrifice for men the rule of their lives, and to work as brothers one of another, who are bound to subordinate their private advantage to the good of the commonwealth and of mankind.

"Aims of the Society.

"The union of men in a real, universal brotherhood, free from all artificial distinctions founded merely upon class.

"Education, liberal, free, compulsory, industrial, for all.

"Substitution of a system of production for use for the present system of production for profit.

"The organization of society on a basis of industry and moral worth, rather than of wealth, privilege, and monopoly as at present; industry being understood to comprise both mental and manual work.

"Public control of land, capital, and all means of production, distribution, and exchange, involving the abolition of all interest.

"The ennobling of domestic, public, and national life; the development of free and independent nationalities; the union of labour; and the promotion of peace and goodwill all over the world."

together in a holy and beneficent confederacy," and to "set forth the brotherhood or Socialist side of Christianity." The Guild of St. Matthew has for its object "to promote the study of social and political subjects in the light of the Incarnation," and this it does by means of special lectures, sermons, classes, discussion meetings, and the distribution of suitable literature.

Less vague and more tangible in form are the efforts of the second section, such as the establishment of the Decorative Co-operators' Association in Oxford Street, and the work of the Rev. C. W. Stubbs, in promoting co-operative agriculture in Granborough, though both are still in the stage of incipient experiment, the latter being no longer under the direction of Mr. Stubbs, removed to another sphere.

Three years ago, at a conference convened by the committee of clergy on Trades Unions and the Church, Miss Hart read a paper on "Leclaire, Contractor and Decorator," who, taking his workmen into partnership, had a most successful career both as business man and philanthropist, and whose example was held up as worthy of imitation in this country. The meeting was presided over by Dean Oakley, and the subject brought before it attracted considerable attention at the time.*

Continuing her earnest advocacy of the principle she believed in as the future solution of the industrial problem, Miss Hart, after two years of propaganda, enlisted the active sympathy and support of Mr. Albert Grey, M.P., and Mr. Cameron Corbett, of Glasgow. Under their auspices, a joint-stock company was started in the metropolis, to develop an industrial partnership for house-painters, carpenters, etc., similar to the Maison Leclaire of Paris;

* See report in *Times*, May 17, 1881.

and it was inaugurated in the presence of a number of influential friends of co-operation on February 24, 1883. Another meeting was held at Grosvenor House on May 30 of the same year, to promote the objects of the association. On this occasion, Lord Carnarvon presided, and was supported by members of Parliament of every shade of political opinion. Since then it has been in full working operation, and its steady growth must be a source of gratification and encouragement to its promoters; at the same time, it must be borne in mind that for its ultimate success it depends, like every other business, upon the support of the public.

In order to secure the realization of her ideal, Miss Hart, as honorary secretary to the association, conscientiously devotes her whole time and energy to the work of superintendence. A visit to 405, Oxford Street, and a short conversation with her, will enable any of our readers to gain such information as they may require about this important work of uniting in one common interest employer and employed.

The real value of such an enterprise—and it is impossible to speak in terms too high of the personal sacrifice of time and talent on the part of the chief promoter of it, or the liberal helpfulness of those who guarantee it by their own means against failure—is its didactic character, teaching by its very existence employers of labour a “new and better way” of carrying on business on business principles, but, in doing so, recognizing the higher principles of justice and mercy, love and mutual sympathy, which ought to prevail in the relations of workmen and organizers of work.

Mr. Stubbs, in a volume on “The Land and the Labourers,” advocates co-operative farming on a small scale, as possessing all the advantages of peasant pro-

prietorship without any of its drawbacks. He appeals to the clergy, who "constitute one-quarter of the land-owners," to encourage small husbandry, and points to successful experiments of his own by half-acre allotments among his former parishioners. This, he thinks, would be a means of preventing depopulation of the country districts, and what he calls "labour-starving of the land," to which he attributes in great measure the agricultural depression of late years. He also gives instances of agricultural profit-sharing at home and abroad,* and in speaking of some of these, where less enthusiastic advocates would see nothing but failure, he is full of faith in the ultimate success of co-operative farming. Whatever may be said of Mr. Stubbs's more pronounced opinions on Christian Socialism, his practical work of co-operative farming in the former parish deserves commendation, and from this point of view, perhaps, his little work on this subject is of some interest, especially when read in the light of modern controversies in connection with the land question.

In the last place, there are those who recognize the necessity of showing to the world at large, and to the working classes in particular, that the clergy are the natural friends of the poor, and that the Church is the best protector of the labourers' interests. Sometimes this is done by means of diffusing sound views on social questions in addresses to the people, such as were arranged some time ago by the Bishop of Bedford, and in which Mr. Albert Grèy and other members of Parlia-

* See also "Six Essays on Profit Sharing between Capital and Labour," by Sedley Taylor, M.A., late Fellow of Trin. Coll., Cambridge, in which Leclaire's system, and that of other employers at home and abroad, are fully and ably discussed. Also a paper on the "Reconciliation of Capital and Labour," by Mary H. Hart, which may be had on application at 405, Oxford Street, W.

ment were to take a prominent part. At other times it is by means of bringing the higher and lower classes together, in the creation of central stations like that of the Eton Mission or the Universities Mission in the east of London. Professor Seeley, presiding over the Cambridge meeting for the purpose of organizing such a mission in conjunction with Oxford, compared it to the springing up of a new clergy, by means of which, he said, "the Church was proving its external vitality by shaping for itself new organs."

Efforts of this kind, having for their principle that all social reforms must pass through the "gate of benevolence," are apt to degenerate into impractical sentimentalism. But the spirit which animates them is a right spirit. Nothing could be more disastrous at the present crisis than apathy (except it be direct antagonism towards popular aspirations) on the part of the Church. To many who have had little practical acquaintance with the real life of the people, the poverty of industry may be simply "a puzzle, a nuisance, a problem, a social crime," whilst others will try to find ease in the thought that "wealth is but the reward of industry, intelligence, and thrift, and poverty but the punishment of indolence, ignorance, and improvidence." The Church cannot be satisfied with such a position of supine indifference or shifting of responsibility where the weal or woe of the largest number is concerned.

In the coming struggle between the forces of democracy and the defenders of the old order of things in a society resting on an aristocratic basis, the Church, containing, as it does, both the elements of conservatism and progress, may save society from the democratic despotism which is implied in the triumph of Socialism on the one hand, and retrogressive tyranny by means of

"prophylactic measures" on the other.* Averse alike to revolution and reaction, she can reconcile liberty with the love of law, and bring about gradually more perfect social union without undue restrictions of personal freedom. In her endeavour to modify and direct the pantisocratic tendencies of the times, the Church, whilst candidly acknowledging real social grievances and earnestly striving to alleviate and ultimately remove the causes of them, will oppose alike schemes of confiscation as well as compulsory repression of lawful claims, and emphasize the rights as well as the duties of property in Christian principle. For the phantasm of a dead level equality she would substitute the vision of equitable social arrangements made possible by the exercise of mutual sympathy and support—a condition of mutual dependence and relative co-ordination such as is contained in the Pauline conception of the social organism under the symbol of a perfect Church organiza-

* Such measures, e.g., as were recommended in a weekly review a little while ago. "So long as the Haves are prepared to enforce the opposite theory to Mr. George's by lead and hemp, property will be safe. . . . If order does not directly rest on the executioner, which was one famous way of putting the thing, it certainly rests on the *potentialities of a whiff of grape shot*. . . . That is the way of treating Mr. George and Mr. Hyndman, and Mr. Wallace and Mr. Davitt, and all the rest of the motley and mutually contradicting apostles of plunder." What the effect of such language is on those concerned we may gather from the following reply:—"Working men," says *Justice*, "cut this incitement to murder out, when you have read it, and remember the sort of men you have to meet and reckon with." *Similia similibus curantur*.

How different the tone of the founder of Christian Socialism in England forty years ago. "To put down Chartism," says F. D. Maurice, "is by *confuting its unrighteous pretensions and by satisfying its righteous demands*; this is the education which the people of England want" ("The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice," vol. i. p. 278). Evidently the education has not been quite finished, as the above two specimens of writing show.

tion. "Whether one member suffer all the members suffer with it, or one member be honoured all the members rejoice with it. Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular."

CHAPTER IX.

UNCHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.

A VOLUME on Christian Socialism would scarcely be complete without some account of its antagonist, Unchristian Socialism. Such an exposition of the alliance of Socialism and Atheism—for this is what we mean by Unchristian Socialism—is rendered necessary by the fact that Socialists themselves point out the connection between Christianity and their own peculiar tenets; as, for example, M. Yves Guyot, in his "*Études sur les Doctrines Sociales du Christianisme*," where he speaks thus of God: "Dieu est un simple phénomène psychologique. Loin que Dieu ait créé l'homme, c'est l'homme qui a créé Dieu."

And perhaps this is the best plan for treating the subject, as it will help to emphasize the duty on which we shall dwell in the next and last chapter, the duty of the Christian ministry, and more especially of clergy of the National Church, to face the social problem as a religious question.

Almost immediately after the desecration of Nôtre Dame of Paris, by the setting up of the Goddess of Reason in the place of the Deity, it was discovered by men like Robespierre that "Atheism is aristocratic," and that the popular craving for religion could alone be satisfied by the reintroduction of the "Supreme Being,"

averring that if no God existed, one would have to be invented. Modern Socialists are of a contrary opinion, and never grow weary in reiterating their preference for a "Godless Creed."

Again, on the first Sunday after the Revolution of 1848, Lacordaire, addressing a large and sympathetic audience in the same cathedral, was able to say: "To demonstrate God to you! You would have the right to call me parricide and sacrilegious! If I dared to demonstrate God, the gates of this cathedral would open of themselves, and you would see this people, superb in its anger, carrying God up to His altar in the midst of reverence and adoration." To-day, we are told, by competent authorities, it would be difficult to find an assembly of Republicans in which the great majority are not Atheists.*

These are not the fluctuations of a wavering faith, but the fitful flickerings of the flame of faith, well-nigh extinguished in the night of unbelief, an eclipse of faith peculiar to the masses of working men throughout the length and breadth of the European Continent. In a lesser degree, and within more circumscribed limits, it is true also of British citizens, and certain classes of operatives in the large centres of industry. Christian and anti-Christian Socialism regarded thus by way of comparison and contrast in their mutual relations are like two social forces in the present day affecting, sometimes conjointly, and at other times in contrary directions, the general course of social evolution. The subject is full of peculiar interest; for if it be true with regard to general history that "the two best things best worth

* See an interesting article on "The Religion of the Paris Ouvrier," by Mr. R. Heath, in the *British Quarterly Review* for July, 1883, pp. 43, 44, and *passim*.

attending to in history are, not party intrigues, nor battles, nor dynastic affairs, nor even many Acts of Parliament, but the great movements of the economic forces of a society on the one hand, and on the other the forms of *religious* opinion and ecclesiastical organization,"* it is all the more important to take note of the Socialistic movement, not only in its economic but also in its religious aspects. As Socialism in politics tends to Republicanism, as in economics it tends to Communism, so in matters of religion it tends to Atheism, though, perhaps, it is too much to say with the Christian social organ of Catholic Germany, that "Atheism is at the root of every form of Socialism."

Nor is it very hard to account for this alliance of Socialism and Atheism. It is to a great extent the result of the materialistic tendencies of modern science and mechanical views of the universe entertained by leading scientists. The fact in itself is of some significance, that the same year saw the publication of Mr. Darwin's "Origin of Species," and that of the text-book of social democracy, the work on "Capital," by Karl Marx. But, as one of the leading spirits of Socialism, Bebel, said in the debate on the Socialist laws in the German Diet—

"With regard to Atheism our standpoint is simply that of the scientific materialistic view of the universe which . . . is not, however, our work; it has been called into existence without our agitation, literature, or activity; but, in the truest and fullest sense of the word, it is entirely the product of science in its modern development during the present century."

This is one, but only one, of several reasons for

* John Morley's address, delivered at the opening of the Session of the Midland Institute, Birmingham, and printed in the *Fortnightly Review*, November, 1876, p. 636.

the prevalent conjunction of Socialism and Atheism. Another reason, probably more potent than the first, is the attraction which negative forms of religion must have for those whose chief aim is the destruction of the existing order of things.

"The industrial proletariat," says the *Social Democrat* for July 17, 1884, "is a revolutionary class opposed to all other classes of modern society, hence its natural antagonism to the peculiar ideas of those classes which find their most pregnant expression in *Christianity*. But as the proletariat wants to subvert modern society, without any intention of replacing it by other form of society, like itself founded on class-rule, but rather to remove all class-rule of whatsoever kind, so, too, it not only is opposed to *Christianity*, but every religious system that could not exist without class antagonism (priestcraft), and therefore would replace it by irreligion—*Atheism*. *Atheism*," it adds, "not as a philosophical system, but as the ~~express denial of every~~ form of religion."*

A third reason for the alliance of Socialism and Atheism is the attraction which a "gospel of material salvation" has for multitudes who have been hitherto shut out from some of the most coveted means of material self-indulgence.

"To suppress religion, which promises an illusory happiness," says Benoit Malon, a leading French Collectivist, in his *Nouveau Parti*, professedly containing the principles of the "*Parti ouvrier*," "is to establish the claims of real happiness, for to demonstrate the non-existence of these illusions tends towards suppressing a state of things which requires illusions for maintaining its own existence."†

"They'll supply us with a religion, like everything else,

* Cf. *To-Day*, vol. ii., No. 7, July, 1884, pp. 73, 74.

† "*Nouveau Parti*," vol. i. p. 34.

and get a profit on it; they will give us plenty of heaven," says Felix Holt, the Radical, in George Eliot's well-known story; "we may have land *there*. That's the sort of religion they like—a religion that gives a working man heaven, and nothing else. But we'll offer to change with 'em. We'll give them back some of their heaven, and take it out in something for us and our children in this world."

This is a coarse way of putting it, but Socialists do not always fight with kid gloves when their hands want to strike hard. Atheism thus amounts simply to a denial of a religion which has been, in the opinion of the Socialist, invariably on the side of the well-to-do classes. To do well for one's self is the only article of faith in the new religion, and Socialism professes to be no less than this. Its gospel promises salvation from penury, its land of promise is temporal prosperity. "Our hope of salvation is not a religious ideal, but rests on a massive material foundation," whilst "*conscious well-ordered organization of social labour is the longed-for saviour of our modern age.*"*

Such are some of the cardinal dogmas of the "Democratic Church;" there is no place here for a Deity. "Civilized humanity" takes the place of the "Supreme Being," and the only pious act permitted in it is humane conduct towards the species.

Similar are the doctrines put forth by English Socialists. Thus a writer on "Socialism and Religion," and a former member of the executive committee of the Democratic Federation, writes in *Justice*, the organ of the party (June 21, 1884)—

"In what sense Socialism is not religious will be now clear. It utterly despises the 'other world' with all its

* "Die Religion der Social Demokratie," Kanzelreden von Joseph Dietzgen, pp. 6-11. The italics are the author's own.

stage properties—that is, the present objects of religion. In what sense it is not irreligious will be also tolerably clear. It brings back religion from heaven to earth, which, as we have sought to show, was its original sphere. It looks beyond the present moment, or the present individual life indeed, though not to another world, but to another and a higher social life in this world. It is in the hope and struggle for this higher social life, ever widening, ever intensifying, whose ultimate possibilities are beyond the power of language to express or thought to conceive, that the Socialist finds his ideal, his religion . . . the devotion of the member of the socialized community, like the devotion of all true Socialists to-day, will be based on science and involve no cultus. In this last point the religion of the Socialist differs from that of the Positivist. The Positivist seeks to retain the forms after the beliefs of which they are the expression have lost all meaning to him. The Socialist, whose social creed is his only religion, requires no travesty of Christian rites to aid him in keeping his ideal before him.”*

From this it would appear that Christian Socialism and Atheistic Socialism can have nothing in common; that no middle term can be found to bring the two together; that the only attitude to be assumed by professed Christians is that of uncompromising antagonism towards those who deny the existence of God. And yet, whilst in matters of religion reconciliation seems hopeless, in matters of social interest there are not a few points of contact between these two antagonistic forms of Socialism. Both have the welfare of mankind at heart, and strive to ameliorate the condition of par-

* It is only fair to add that the writer of this has left the Social Democratic Federation to join the more pronounced Socialist League in this country, and that the former body, as such, professes indifference in matters of religion, and has religious persons among its members, a Roman Catholic priest and a Presbyterian minister among the rest.

ticular sections of society, such as the working classes of the present day. They differ widely in principle and method, in their theory concerning the *summum bonum* as well as the means for its attainment; yet, notwithstanding these differences, pursuing as they do similar ends, they will often meet on the same road, making for the same goal, "our being's end and aim," human happiness. It is well, therefore, that they should cultivate each other's acquaintance, though they can never be intimate friends.

We will, therefore, proceed to recapitulate as concisely as possible the circumstances which have called forth the Socialist agitation as well as the demands which are made on society by the agitators. From this it will be seen that in their complaints as to what *is*, and in their proposals as to what *ought to be*, Christian and un-Christian Socialists often occupy the same ground. It will also be seen that there are serious differences which render it imperatively necessary for those who occupy the Christian standpoint cheerfully to accept what is true in Socialist grievances, and readily to join in any effort to realize a higher social ideal, and in doing so to fortify their position, from which effectually to repel what is erroneous in principle and reprehensible in practice on the part of Socialists of the contrary school. In fact, discussions and disputes on the present state of society, and concerning the fundamentals of the "social doctrine," may not be unfitly compared to a family quarrel, owing to a discovery of what appear long neglected family deeds and documents, where the more irascible un-Christian Socialist and the more temperate Christian Socialist are like two inimical brothers estranged from each other by long-standing prejudices, and now compelled to settle matters between them

in the redistribution of the family property in spite of their differences. We need scarcely point out the duty of patient forbearance on the part of those members of the family who are subject to the chastening influences of the "Religion of Suffering" in dealing with those who deny it; it is more important to be mindful of our own duty as impartial arbiters in the dispute, so as to give a fair hearing to both sides in our position of critics.

Modern Socialism, be it recollected, is nothing more or less than a protest, expressed often in bitterness and anger, against the unfavourable social conditions in the lives of vast multitudes which are the acknowledged blots on our modern civilization; and not only a protest against the existing social order which has produced them, but also the expression of a settled purpose to alter or amend what is amiss either by revolution or reform. This attitude receives a powerful support from the recognition of equal rights, in themselves seemingly irreconcilable with inequalities of conditions and disparities of fortune excluding the majority from many of the blessings of civilization. Their liberties have been increased, but their social dependence on others for the material supplies necessary for existence has been augmented at the same time. Moreover, the isolation of the wages labourers, as a class, from others is greater than it was, and tends to class organization. With the class antagonism which has thus sprung up has grown the power of giving it effect by means of combination, and a growing consciousness of strength in numbers and concentration of force, which is partly owing to the extension of political power, and partly to the organization of labour and the congregation of large bodies of men in factory work. This has been fostered by frequent attempts, more or less successful, of international frater-

nization of labour, which is becoming at times a menace to the peace of society.

What the objects of Social Democracy are we may gather from the programme of the party under the title, "What Social Democrats are, and What they want," published by authority for circulation in Germany, and not materially differing from the manifesto of the Democratic Federation in England. What is required is no less than the foundation of the "People's State" on the ruins of the State as now constituted, and the entire transformation of the present forms of industry by co-operative organization of a "communistic nature." Property, indeed, is not to be abolished, but the acquisition of some men's labour by others is to be prevented as being a spurious kind of property, amounting to "social theft." It can only be effected by the "expropriation of the expropriators," and this by means of the assumption on the part of the people of all the means and instruments of production. The rights of labour are deduced from the principle that "all wealth is the fruit of labour;" therefore labour should reap the results of its own exertion, justice demands no less. But the present system of wages labour is the cause of injustice, and yet, since without some sort of organization, labour would not be productive, therefore what is required is common labour for the good of each individual—"Common labour and common enjoyment of the fruits of labour—i.e. Socialistic association in the place of wages labour." *

As the body has a soul, so every social movement for improving man's material condition has also a spiritual

* See "Was die Social Demokraten sind und was sie wollen," pp. 5-8. We give here only a rough outline of the aims of Socialism; a full account of the subject by the present writer will be found in a paper on the "Future of Society," in the *Contemporary Review* for April, 1880.

side to it, and so in the present day Materialistic Socialism has its counterpart in Christian Socialism. Socialism appeals to justice, and this moral basis of its demands is the common platform on which Christian and un-Christian Socialism meet. Moreover, Socialism is not merely, as has been said by eminent representatives of both systems, a question of the stomach; it is also a question about the equitable distribution of ideal goods, the means of higher culture as the results of a progressive civilization. Here is another point of contact. And, again, Socialism justly emphasizes the communion of interests which actually exists, and the solidarity of social units which in our individualistic society has ceased to be recognized. It also dwells on the importance of social reorganization to prevent the excess of selfish competition, taking the sacred name of liberty in vain in a state of society where the weak compete with the strong, which must ultimately result in the practical enslavement of the former by the latter. In this reaction against unprincipled egotism Socialism proper finds ready allies among Christian Socialists. They, too, acknowledge that the unlimited freedom of individual effort where the race is one often like that between a healthy athlete and a cripple, from an economic point of view, leaves little security against the weak being out-run by the strong. Pure liberty in such a case amounts simply to an alternative between the acceptance of subsistence wages and starvation. But whilst our present system may thus often give occasion for the strong to take advantage of the weak, in a purely socialistic state, where the individual would be sacrificed to the welfare of the community, the strong in mind or body would be liable to be sacrificed for the benefit of the weak. Whereas unlimited liberty in the former case may lead

to lawlessness, the rigid application of the law of equality in the latter might extinguish liberty, and, with it, that free development of individual energies on which progress depends. Therefore, concludes the Christian Socialist, what is required is, not the suppression of liberty, but its limitation against abuses.

In the same way Christian Socialism deplors the evil results of competition, but so far from wishing to abolish the present social system of which it forms a part, it would rather improve it by means of legal restrictions and regulations to prevent its mischievous effects if left unchecked. But this only by way of transition. In course of time *free* association by co-operation may become possible. We say *may*, not *must*, for herein lies the difference between Socialism proper and Christian Socialism; the latter expects moral amelioration before social changes of this magnitude can be expected at the present rate of social, as conditioned by moral, evolution. This is an opinion expressed even by Robert Owen half a century ago, when, exhorting associations formed for this purpose, he bids them "choose men capable of having their minds elevated, and of such moral courage and singleness of purpose, that the passions of men should not be able to turn them from the *godlike course* which they have to run."

Si duo faciunt idem non est idem—to be aiming at the same thing and exerting one's self in the same direction, is a very different thing from adopting the same methods and arriving at identical results; so, too, there is a vast difference between Christian and un-Christian Socialistic principles, their practice and their prospects, their negative criticism and their positive proposals. This opens a wide field of inquiry, but for the present we must confine ourselves to those particular points of

departure which are rather in the nature of contrary opinions on the same subject, and then to those essential and irreconcilable differences which arise from contradictory modes of belief, suggested by the title of the present chapter.

The great outcry of ordinary Socialists is directed against the appropriation of what they call the surplus value of all commodities produced by those who employ the producers—*i.e.* those engaged in manual labour. That the latter must be satisfied with the current rate of wages *nolens volens*, whilst they see thrice the amount of their remuneration taken in the form of profits by their masters, and all this under a semblance of free contract. To protect the wages labourer against this form of "expropriation" they demand for him the full value of the articles produced for his sole enjoyment—in other words, the transference of the means of enjoyment over and above that required for the maintenance of life from the employer to the employed. Lazarus and Dives are to change places, or at all events both are to fare sumptuously every day, and to be clothed in purple and fine linen. "The question of consumption," says Dietzgen, "is the question of man's salvation."

Now, Christian Socialism does not regard the position of Dives in this life as the *summum bonum* of human life. On the contrary, it says, almost in the words of one of its representatives, that happiness does not consist in the increase of enjoyment, but in the full and unimpeded exercise of our energies; that high effort is a vital and more fruitful source of happiness than luxurious self-indulgence; that the history of wealthy families tends to show how the possession of large means often dulls the senses, and exercises an enervating influence on self-development; that in this way the grandchildren

of millionaires often become paupers; that the effects of excessive affluence thus act as the most powerful agency for levelling downwards. Thus the number of nobles in Europe who in the course of time have been impoverished is greater than the number of those who have managed to maintain their position. In commercial communities it is a well-known fact that wealth got by trade seldom remains in the same hands for many generations ("From clogs to clogs takes three generations," is the Lancashire proverb). Here, then, there is a point of departure between Atheistic and Christian Socialism. The former aims at individual satisfaction in material enjoyment diffused equally among all members of the community, the latter demands *self-abnegation* from all, as an aid to spiritual improvement. M. Rénan, speaking of the Communism of the Primitive Christians in the Apostolic age, refers to this important distinction when he says—

"Une difference profonde venait de ce que le Communisme Chrétien avait une base religieuse, tandis que le Socialisme moderne n'en a pas. Il est clair qu'une association où le dividende est en raison des besoins de chacun, et non en raison du capital apporté, ne peut réposer que sur un sentiment d'abnégation très exalté, et sur une foi evidente, en un idéal religieux."

Compare with this the following utterances of Socialists :—

"To have as many requirements as possible, but to satisfy them in an honest, becoming manner, in this consists the virtue of our own times!" These are the very words of Lassalle, pronounced some twenty years ago. "Our Social Democracy is fully aware of the fact that enjoyment is the end of existence, and that enjoyment

in common, and ennobled by science and art, is the highest form of culture, because the only one that is rational and worthy of man." Thus speaks the *Social Democrat*, in one of its leading articles of comparatively recent date.

Now, these are purely materialistic aspirations, and they are naturally found in company with atheistic views of life. Professor Schmoller gives the reason for this double tendency in the lower strata of society, which had best be told in his own words—

"Atheism and Materialism, cynical gluttony and waste, indifference towards every form of higher and ideal goods, have made sad inroads among our so-called higher classes for some time, and long before similar complaints were heard among the labourers. But a view of the universe, excluding all belief of the moral government of God and just retribution after death, and in which it is forgotten that the highest human happiness is a well-ordered family life and a pure conscience, attainable in the humblest position—such a view, to be in any measure logical, must lead to conclusions such as are implied in the demands of social democracy; at all events, the demands for a more equalized distribution of wealth. From a purely materialistic point of view the existence of the lower classes is both without joy and without justice."

If it be said that Atheism thus leads to the brutalizing of the people, and that, instead of improving their condition, it only turns them into beasts, Socialists are ready with a reply.

"We can dispense," they say, "with your idea of man being created in the divine image; for we know that the difference between man and other animals is only one of degree; . . . therefore the future belongs to Atheism, in it alone there is salvation for humanity to recover its proper rights, so long bartered away for an illusive blessing."

Nor is it very difficult to account for the fervour of this atheistic Materialism, if we bear in mind what is the power of secondary reasons which often determine the course of religious speculation and feeling. The principal cause of this phase of thought in matters of religion among the working classes is not any well-founded antagonism against religion as such, but alienation from the religion of religious professors who belong to the classes against which Socialism is arraying its forces at this moment. In an able, but now rarely quoted, work on Ireland by Mr. Goldwin Smith, there is a passage in which he shows how the religion of the Irish people was on more than one occasion dictated by the exigencies of political warfare. As Lord Macaulay takes pains in showing how the English loyally changed their creeds on several occasions at the bidding of royalty, so Mr. Goldwin Smith seems to think that the Irish gave point to their disloyalty by embracing the religion—Protestant or Catholic—which for the time being happened to be the opposite of that professed by their English rulers. Now, it seems to us that the disaffected Socialists everywhere, and in the same way, accept Atheism, not so much because religion is specially distasteful to them, but because they dislike the ruling classes, who ostensibly take it under their shelter. Crown and altar are the main props of the existing social order, therefore they must both fall together. This is illustrated by some strange scenes enacted in Berlin some nine or ten years ago, and which at the time attracted much attention, as they startled the world by a new aspect of Socialism—namely, in the light of a power levelled against religion.

On March 13, 1878, the funeral of August Heinsch, a comparatively obscure Socialist, took place in that city,

and some ten thousand of his associates followed him to the grave, among them a considerable number of women. Red ribbons, red flowers, red scarves, the emblems of the Commune, were worn with studied ostentation, whilst the ladies in the procession carried laurel-wreaths on scarlet cushions. After two hours' march, the procession reached the cemetery of the Free Church, and through a gate, surmounted with the inscription, "*There is no hereafter and no meeting again,*" they passed on to the grave, over which Fritzsche, a Socialist Deputy of the German Parliament, held the first funeral oration. Heinsch, he said, was now before his judge, the judge being the people now present, not the absolute divinity of the past. After other speakers, Frau Hahn addressed those present, in conclusion assuring them that the proletariat had the future of the universe in their hands if they would only unite for a common purpose. A few days later, in a meeting of about twelve hundred women, wives and daughters of artisans, there was a discussion on the principles of religion and property, when the same lady, being called upon to take the chair, gave her reasons for leaving the Church and publicly disavowing every form of religion—

"I will just relate how I left the Church and became a Socialist. *I simply discovered that my belief gave me never anything to eat. With five hungry children about me this argument was conclusive.* I am an honest woman, and look everybody in the face, and find it easy to do without Bible and parson. But, ladies, besides being a mother, I happen to be an aunt, and thereby hangs a tale. One of my sisters who is ill, and whom I assisted in a small way, has two little children, unchristened of course. One day, when I visited her, I was dismayed to find two clerical gentlemen in the room, with long hair faultlessly parted in the middle. I immediately

insulted them, telling them they had better be off, or I should bring an action against them for invading the privacy of family life. As to my sister, I told her that if the two girls were baptized, they had seen the last of my coin. Ladies, if you are in need of something stupid to believe in, and some hypocritical teacher to impart it, why not invent some fable of your own, and appoint your own men to inculcate the same ?" *

Here, then, we have a plain reason given for the disavowal of belief in a Deity. The words we have italicized explain all, though the argumentative power they manifest is not of a high order, as the terms of the exhortation contain scarcely a compliment to the intellectual resources of the ladies and the intellectual integrity of their husbands. The Christian religion is discarded because Christ no longer feeds the multitudes in the wilderness, or rather because some are fed better than others in this world.

This fanatical hatred against the Christian religion on purely material grounds is transferred, as a matter of course, to the principal representatives of Christian Socialism, and, if possible, with exaggerated force. Thus, *e.g.* the official organ of the Socialist party in Germany is constantly denouncing every effort of Christian philanthropy on behalf of the masses and every attempt of the Christian Social Party to bring about social reforms. Thus in one of a series of leading articles, headed "Practical Christianity" (a phrase used by Prince Bismarck in connection with his proposed measures of social reform, such as the passing of the Insurance Against Accidents Bill in the Diet), after going through the various moves of coarse vituperation, it concludes as follows :—

* *Times*, March 20 and 22, 1878.

"Enough of this disgusting muddle of ignorance and baseness, of open and disguised deception of the people! Its authors may flatter themselves to have found in it the elixir which will restore youth to the old Phrynne Capitalist Society; they may imagine that it will quench the 'fire of the revolutionary spirit' . . . but as little as Christianity in its beginnings was able to prevent the collapse of the Roman Empire, so little can its contemptible parody of the present day delay the destruction of the universal Empire of Capital.

"The more adherents are won for the 'true Christianity' of the Hohenzollern, the more this will become manifest, because in proportion as it shows its true colours it will repel the handful of labourers who have hitherto followed it with sceptical curiosity, and lessen its chances of influencing the great bulk of the working men. . . . With your 'practical Christianity' you will never quench the subterranean fire of the revolutionary spirit or hinder its spread; without cessation it is being propagated, defying every attempt to suppress it, until it has become a mighty conflagration, blazing up in refulgent flame and putting a sudden end to you and your mediæval mystifications." *

Nor is this disparaging tone adopted only against the Christian Socialists because of their connection with the Conservative agrarians and the Court party. The Roman Catholic section of the Christian Social Party fare no better at the hands of the Social Democrats. In reply to a pamphlet by an able Roman Catholic controversialist, Hohoff, who claimed for himself and his Church the right to apply the Christian doctrine to the solution of the social problems of the day, his opponent says—

"I cannot agree with you in the view you take that Christianity and Socialism aim at the same thing. Christi-

* *Social-Demokrat* for 1882, No. 10, and cf. Nos. 50-52 of the same year.

anity and Socialism are opposed to each other as fire and water. The so-called good kernel in Christianity, which you, not I, discover in it, is not Christian, but merely human, and the peculiarity of Christianity, the bulk of its dogmas and doctrines, is inimical to humanity."

This leads to another part of our subject, the question how far the principles, practice, and prospects of Christian and un-Christian Socialism are to each other as "fire and water." In general terms, it may be said that the difference of Christian and un-Christian Socialism consists in the constructive and reformatory tendencies of the one, and the destructive and revolutionary proclivities of the other—i.e. not in the end to be attained so much as in the selection of the means for its attainment. The one wants to level down, the other to level up; the one excites the masses to revolt, the other exhorts the powers that be to reform society and to ameliorate the condition of the people with the aid of the people's guardians, the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in Church and State. The latter would preserve what is capable of conservation in the old institutions, whilst granting all that may be justly claimed by way of innovations; the former wants to overturn what exists to build on a new foundation. Christian Socialism trusts only to the wisdom of the few, Socialism proper mainly to the power of the many. Both profess to adopt legal means only for compassing their ends, acting through Parliament and the representation of the people, but this, in the case of the Socialists, only for the present and for tactical purposes, and, in the case of the Christian Socialists, as a *pis aller*; the former are ready at any moment to invoke the will of the people, the latter to fall back on a "strong monarchy." That Socialists only intend using parliamentary forms and social reforms by authority as means to an end was

affirmed by resolution at their congress at Copenhagen a few years ago, and the chief reason given was the utter futility of all efforts of peaceful social reform.* Reforms from above, they say, apart from insincerity of motives, must be naturally very slow, because of the great difficulty of class-interests which they have to encounter. For this reason, delays will only aggravate the intensity of suffering from below, until, in course of time, and before very long, it becomes unbearable, the spread of education and other civilizing influences hastening on the process. Thus it is anticipated by Socialists and pessimists of the social Conservative class alike, that the conflict will grow more fierce and determined, and the emancipation of the "Fourth Estate" will force its way from below through the hard crust of custom and prescription, to break out at last in a sudden social volcanic eruption, like that which emancipated the third Estate in the great French Revolution.

In short, what distinguishes the two forms of Socialism seems to be chiefly a *differentia* of method. This, however, only appears so at first sight. There is a more profound difference of first principles which underlies the reasoning and efforts of Christian and un-Christian Socialism, as deep and wide as the difference between Atheistic and Christian conceptions of life and the universe. To give a few instances illustrating this divergence of opinion as far as it affects the principles of action of these two antagonistic modes of thought on social questions, we will select two or three fundamental doctrines of modern Socialism to show to what extent they are influenced by atheistic views of life.

In the first place we will take the so-called "brazen

* See "Protokoll über den Kongress der deutschen Social Demokratie in Kopenhagen," pp. 29, 30.

law of wages," which condemns the masses of the labouring population to perpetual servitude; as stated originally by the "orthodox" economists and in its present form, as *rechauffé* with a flavour of Socialism by Lassalle and his followers, it would amount to this:—The laws of demand and supply reign supreme in the labour market, wages rise and fall according to the number of hands seeking employment, or the number of hands required—i.e. "hands" living on subsistence wages. The rise of wages and the consequent improved condition of the wages labourer tend to promote improvident marriages and increase of population, that is, increased demand for employment, which at once produces a fall in the price of labour. When the lowest point has been reached by emigration, forced celibacy, depopulation, and other drastic *natural* remedies, there will be a movement of the pendulum in the contrary direction. The reduction in the number of hands now creates a larger demand for them, and wages rise to their normal height again. This is the fatal law at the base of our industrial system which determines and perpetuates the condition of those who never rise above the rank of wages-earners, a condition which implies a minimum of comfort as their standard of life. There is little difference in the conception of this supposed cruel law of nature between the political economist, who simply defines it in the exposition of his science and the Socialist, who rebels against its provisions—both consider it in the light of a "*necessary law*," as part of the social order under which we live. Here we have an illustration of that fatalistic view of social life which is so closely related to Atheism, as a system, denying the existence of a Divine Power in or above nature.

The Christian Socialist admits the "reign of law,"

and would, moreover, bring men under the law of obedience, but he also believes in the power of human will determining the laws which govern society, itself subject to the higher will of God, the God of truth and justice. By the exercise of will, that which seems to be a law, but is only the description of a sad state of things, may be put an end to by the determination of Christian employers to transact business with their men on Christian principles as by the collective will of the Christian community legislative protection may supplement the deficiencies of private effort. Thus it is possible to break through the "iron law" in snapping asunder the fetters forged by selfishness and greed, and to lessen human misery "stereotyped" by no other force but that of will misapplied and perpetuated solely by the general consensus of mankind to be guided by no other laws, but those of mean and unmitigated selfishness.*

Of course, this implies moral progress, and with it and in consequence thereof the free development of human institutions with the expansion of the Christian idea. Herein consists the superiority of the Christian social standpoint. In its recognition of law governing human affairs it does not forget the Lawgiver, it is a stranger both to the resignation of inactive fatalism and the resentment of the fatalist who tears at the chain of Necessity in rage, because it regards these secondary laws subject to a higher and universal law and forming part of a Divine plan. Hence, to apply the words of the Agnostic philosopher—

"Such an one, no longer regarding the mere outside of things, has learned to look for the secret forces by which they are upheld. After patient study, this chaos of phenomena

* Cf. Ratzinger, "Die Volkswirtschaft in ihren sittlichen Grundlagen," p. 181 and *ante*.

into the midst of which he was born, has begun to generalize itself to him; and where there seemed nothing but confusion, he can now discern the dim outlines of a gigantic plan. . . . Growth is unceasing, and, though slow, all powerful; showing itself in some rapidly developing outline, and there, where the necessity is less, exhibiting only the fibrils of incipient organization. Irresistible, as it is subtle, he sees in the worker of these changes a power that bears onwards peoples and governments, regardless of their theories and schemes and prejudices—a power which sucks the life out of those lauded institutions, shrivels up their State parchments with a breath, paralyzes long-venerated authorities, obliterates the most deep-graven laws, makes statesmen recant and puts prophets to the blush, buries cherished customs, shelves precedents, and which, before men are yet conscious of the fact, has wrought a revolution in all things, and filled the world with a higher life. Always towards perfection is the mighty movement—towards a complete development and a more unmingled good. . . . Each new fact illustrates more clearly some recognized law or discloses some unconceived completeness; contemplation thus perpetually discovering to him a higher harmony, and cherishing in him a deeper faith.”*

Very nearly akin to the brazen law of wages in its tendencies and results, is the theory formulated by Lassalle, but expressed, though in a less definite form, by the older Socialists, like Morelly and Robert Owen, that man is the victim of a conjuncture of circumstances and events, so that, socially speaking, he is not a responsible being at all. Lassalle, had he lived to the present day, would be able to point to the late war between China and France, and the complications in which English politics were involved in Egypt, or the rumours of war at the present hour, or the miscarriage of an international commercial treaty between Italy and France owing to

* Herbert Spencer, “Social Statics,” pp. 322, 323 (Edit. 1868).

paltry official quarrels, as examples to show how in their direct and indirect results these factors profoundly influence all those who depend upon the fluctuations of commerce, and produce economic effects in the condition of workmen in both hemispheres which it is impossible by any effort of the will on their part to prevent or to control. In the same way, a cotton famine in the United States, a sudden demand for the silver currency in Japan, or the unexpected discovery of new silver mines in any given portion of the globe raising or depreciating the value of the currency, would seriously affect the commerce of the world, and consequently the condition of those who depend for their employment on the enterprising capitalist. This conjunction of events Lassalle calls the *fatum* of the modern system of industry. It plays at balls with the supposed liberty of individuals, hoisting up some into the lap of fortune, hurling down others into the abyss of poverty. The causes and results of over-production, the abnormal stagnation of trade in consequence of over-speculation, and the disappearance of some industries, like the silk ribbon trade of Coventry by the action of fiscal measures with all their far-reaching consequences, these are so many links in the "orphan chain" of contingencies, the "fatum of the capitalistic bourgeoisie;" the chief victims are those passive agents in the process, the wages labourers and their families, who are only the adjuncts of the machines at which they work, part of a commercial mechanism, which neither they nor their masters have the power effectually to control. Here again, Atheism and fatalism touch, and in their common influence become either causes of aimless apathy, or acute apprehension, they produce indifference in the face of the unavoidable or fear of the unknown, either of which have the effect of paralyzing

human effort ; for what can avail against an untoward combination of circumstances, which by no ingenuity of man it is possible to avert, or against incalculable chances, which it is impossible to divine ? Belief in a ruling power is the magic thread which can guide man in the labyrinth of such a social edifice, where he sees, not fate, but the working together of the complicated factors, material and moral, in the social mechanism that supplies him with insight and foresight to calculate contingencies, and to register fluctuations so as to provide for possible emergencies. Because belief in a divine plan of the universe stimulates the spirit of inquiry and discovery, and prompts action upon the knowledge thus acquired, according to Spinoza's beautiful saying : " Human affairs are not intended to be either the subject of lament or ridicule, they have to be understood."

One more instance shall be given to illustrate the peculiar fatalistic tendency of thought, inseparable from an atheistic view of social life, and that is what we may call the eschatology of modern Socialism. The evolution of society according to this view is simply a dialectical process ending in its destruction. This destruction, however, is nothing else but structural metamorphosis, our modern society is to pass away, like its predecessors, to make room for another, which, of course, is the socialistic commonwealth. Nothing can retard the rolling on of the " iron wheels of necessity ;" the coming social revolution is as certain and unavoidable as certain cataclysms of Nature and occasional discharges of electricity are determined beforehand by fixed laws. According to this socialistic philosophy of history, the struggle of classes now going on under the names of Socialism and Nihilism is a fact inseparable from the nature of things. The war between capital and labour is

destined to become more sanguinary with the accelerated accumulation of capital in a few hands and the corresponding augmentation of discontented poverty and wretchedness among the "helots of society." The crush comes at last when the exasperated slaves of labour shall have become sufficiently strong and united to strike the fatal blow to society. It is but natural that Socialists who see the operation of a fatal law of wages at the base of the present system of industry, and a fatality governing all the intermediate processes, should also look forward to a fatal collapse of the whole system in the sequel, though the end is not yet.

The result of such a view of social development can produce nothing else, but either the despair of pessimistic fatalism, or the kindling rage and smothered resentment of anarchists and opportunists. And so we find the Utopian optimism of the earlier forms of Socialism displaced by nihilistic pessimism in its most recent manifestations, as the unavoidable result of growing disbelief in transcendental ideas. The alarming increase of suicides on the Continent has been ascribed, and probably not without some reason, to the corroding effects of this kind of sceptical despondency.

Some years ago, relates Heinrich von Treitschke, on visiting one of the mines near Freiberg, as he was resting with some of his companions at the bottom of one of the shafts, and when in those eternal depths below surrounded by the majestic gloom of walls of gneiss, an expression of wonder at the greatness of God escaped involuntarily the lips of one of them, their guide, a little miner, broke out at once in wild blasphemies, saying, "You are rich and I am poor; how can there be a benevolent God?" "Rarely in my life," adds the narrator, "have I experienced a feeling of such profound

pity; what ties were there to hold such a miserable wretch as this to life? what prevented him throwing himself into yonder deep? Nothing but cowardice and animal instinct."

But in the case of the sanguine and the active, the repressed rage and resentment vent themselves in something stronger than words. Their creed is "*Ni dieu, ni maître*," and they act upon it, or at least are preparing for action by means of *coups de revolution*. Revolutionary methods may seem inconsistent with a fatalistic belief in social evolution according to fixed laws. But the objection would probably be met by our modern Socialists very much in the same way as the Stoic met the arguments of his servant. The servant, according to the well-known story, had purloined his master's goods, and when charged with having committed a heinous crime, pleaded the stoical principle of necessity as his only excuse. "I could not help doing what I did; I only followed the irreversible laws of nature." "True," replied the Stoic; "and I, too, in strict obedience to the same law, find it necessary to give you a sound thrashing by way of punishment;" and so he beat him within an inch of his life. Slightly transposing the characters of the story, Socialists would probably say: "Our masters are what they are by reason of the law of social development, but by the same law we, their slaves, follow our own destiny in putting an end to their power, if not their existence." We have not met with this argument in any of the Socialist writings, but something of the sort may be gathered from many hints and innuendoes contained in them, all of which seem to say: What is called modern progress is nothing else but the rapidity of movement in modern society stepping into its own grave, from which it shall rise transmuted and

transfigured as a perfect state organized on Socialist principles. The opportunist is satisfied in undermining the social edifice, the irreconcilable would precipitate events by means of dynamite. "The dynamite of ideas is accompanied in the background by the dynamite of material force. These modern explosives may easily prove to capitalism what gunpowder was to feudalism." *

Outsiders may deride the inconsistency of such tactics by means of which Socialists try to give effect to "over-ripe views" under comparatively "unripe conditions of society," as they find it difficult to reconcile developmental social theories with anti-social methods of agitation. But Possibilists and Intransigentes alike reply:—"The revolution is prepared in the womb of society, it needs but one strenuous and organized effort to manifest the new period in legal and acknowledged shape to the world." † And if peaceable means fail, why, then, in the words of the *Social Democrat*, force must be used against force—and "Nitro-glycerine" becomes "the *ultima ratio*," the last argument ‡ of an oppressed humanity. Such are the results of a union between Socialism and Atheism. Its tendencies are destructive as the Deistic Socialism of men like St. Simon was constructive. "Religion," said the latter, "should direct society towards the grand design of the speedy amelioration of the class which is at once the poorest and the most numerous." Socialists, who nowadays deride "drafts on eternity," scornfully reject all such overtures to a peaceful solution of this social problem. Nothing can therefore save society from the present danger but the

* H. M. Hyndman, "Historical Basis of Socialism in England," p. 443.

† "A Summary of the Principles of Socialism: written for the Democratic Federation," by H. M. Hyndman and William Morris, p. 61.

‡ *Der Social-Demokrat* for 1883, No. 17.

restitution of genuine religious belief. The spiritual dynamics of faith, hope, and love, to counteract "the force of dynamite" and hate; the growth of co-operation on truly fraternal principles in the place of spoliation in any of the varied forms of "Collectivism;" participation of profit between master and man generalized and extended until it has become universal, as an antidote against combination for the purposes of industrial warfare; the free play of organic growth, as opposed to agitatorial organization—these are the conditions of a gradual transformation of society to be effected mainly by the action of ethical forces—Atheistic Socialism must be encountered by the highest spiritual forces in the social organism to arrest its course, or divert it into safe channels.

"Atheism," said a Christian Socialist in the course of the Socialist debate in the German Diet in December, 1882, "cannot be suppressed by force; . . . it can only be overcome by internal means. This is our common task, to bring about a moral and spiritual renewal in the heart of the people. I am very far from making Social Democrats alone responsible for atheistic excesses. The roots of this unhappy state extend to wider circles of the educated, the learned, the party of the Left. Yes, gentlemen, it is in your press, in your literature that they have learned their atheism, and for this reason they have cried out against the bourgeoisie: 'You have taken from us heaven, do not wonder if we demand of you the earth.' Here it behoves every party opposed to social disruption to turn over a new leaf, to return to a better mind which believes in the Divine foundation of order here below. . . . It is my political conviction that *the* great conflict which marks the period we live in is the acceptance or rejection of a Christian view of the Universe, and I believe that our political and social disorders cannot be remedied unless we adopt the former alternative."

CHAPTER X.

SOCIAL DUTY OF THE CLERGY.

THE Church Congress of 1887 was signalized by a new departure. The principal paper on the subject of Socialism was written by a bishop, and one of the most prominent Socialists in London, a leading member of the Social Democratic Federation, Mr. Champion, was permitted to take part in the discussion, a permission which received the cordial approval of the meeting, when asked to express its opinion to that effect by the Bishop of Lichfield, whose concluding words were these: "The greatest philanthropists had come, not from the ranks of Socialism, but from the ranks of the Christian Church."

Now, although the introductory paper of the Bishop of Derry was on the whole conceived in the spirit of discriminating sympathy with the objects of Socialism, and although it contained such concessions as these, that "the sentiment and aspiration of Socialism are distinctly Christian;" that "every Christian is a bit of a Socialist, and every Socialist a bit of a Christian;" that "Socialism only exists in Christian countries;" and that "the spirit and aspiration of Socialism has a Christian aspect;"—yet the impression produced by all this on the Socialist mind was far from favourable.

In an early number of *Justice*, the organ of the Social Democratic Federation in England, the subject was alluded to in an article under the title "Church and People," and from it we give the following extract, containing the introductory and concluding remarks of the article, to show the difficult position of the clergy, created no doubt partially by faults of their own order in the past, but still more so by the unreasonable attitude of the Socialist body, as represented by their principal spokesmen, and requiring on the part of the clergy that sweet reasonableness inculcated in the example of Him their Master :—

"The Church Congress has been in session and has discussed a number of things, among others the relation between the Church and Socialism. The only practical result of these discussions has been to show that the Church, as an organization, is entirely out of sympathy with the popular movements and aspirations of to-day, and that its dignitaries and ministers, with the exception of a small minority—so small indeed that its activity alone redeems it from insignificance—are not prepared to do anything to alter this, and are to be reckoned among the worst enemies of the people. . . . There is undoubtedly much to be said for Christianity from a Socialist point of view; the brotherhood and equality of man we have always regarded as fundamental doctrines of the Christian Creed; but we have nothing to do with theology in these columns, what we are concerned to point out is that the Church is against us, and that clericalism is still the enemy." *

* See *Justice*, October 10, 1887. The above is further illustrated by the following, taken from the *Times* of last year :—"CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM.—The Rev. W. Probyn-Nevins having urged on Mr. Hyndman the necessity of disconnecting English Socialism with the anti-Christian Socialism of Germany and France, and also suggesting that the leaders should jointly memorialize the London clergy to help and collect funds for

Thus social agitators, political pamphleteers, and the organs advocating the labourers' cause in the press, are all severe in their criticism of the attitude supposed to have been taken up by the clergy of the National Church towards the working people. It shows that the day has come for clergymen to decide what is their position and what are their duties in the presence of the great social question of the day.

For the clergy of the Church of England are a body of men whose lives and whose work are so intimately blended with the life and work of the nation, that it is impossible for them to hold aloof from a great social movement without endangering considerably their own individual position, and jeopardizing the *prestige* and influence for good of the Church to which they belong. They are not a mystic priesthood, separated from the people by impassable barriers, nor a sacerdotal caste with special interests of their own apart from the interests of the community at large. They are a citizen clergy, appointed, indeed, for the express purpose of performing spiritual functions, but by no means excluded thereby from the totality of national life. As integral parts of the social nexus they are influenced by, and influencing in return, the social movements around them. As ministers and men, therefore, they have social duties to

the distress, has received the following letter:—'10, Devonshire-street, Portland-place, W., Jan. 21. Dear Sir,—We Social Democrats have found that the ministers of religion in the metropolis, as elsewhere, with a few honourable exceptions, side with the rich and against the poor. This being so, I for one should consider any such memorial from us quite out of place and useless. Social Democrats are no more anti-Christian than anti-Mahomedan, anti-Buddhist, or anti-Confucian. Christianity, as seen in this country, is merely the chloroform agency of the confiscating classes. Consequently the workmen are daily turning more and more against its professors. Yours faithfully, H. M. HYNDMAN. The Rev. W. Probyn-Nevins.'"

perform towards the laity of *all* classes. As followers of Him whom the common people heard gladly, and whose gospel was pre-eminently the gospel of the poor, they owe a special debt to the *working classes*.

What are these duties?

In the first place we would suggest what are those duties towards "the people" before being brought into actual contact with the clergy, *i.e.* our preliminary duties in connection with the amelioration of their condition, and in the impending settlement of present difficulties arising from their struggle for material improvement. The first duty is to divest our minds of all class prejudices and unfair leanings to either side, so as to be able to take up the position of peace-makers between the contending parties—in short, we must be perfectly impartial.

Besides this negative duty to secure candid neutrality there is the positive obligation of mutual sympathy with rich and poor. In order to become true, judicious, and, therefore, influential mediators between two exasperated opponents, whose judgment is blinded by passion and warped by self-interest, we must possess not only a cool head but also a warm heart, a right judgment in all things, together with the glow of genuine kindness and expansive humanity. Thus we may win the affections and gain the respect of both the contending parties, be they at variance with or without a cause.

From general observation, especially among the country clergy, we should be inclined to say, admitting many exceptions, that the manner and method in dealing with the working classes on the part of the clergyman is very often either that of overbearing dictatorial pomposity, or that of softly soothing mildness and good-natured imbecility. The former tries to allay discontent

by main force, the latter by bland speeches; the first is resented with bitter scorn, the last is dismissed with a contemptuous smile, and both succeed in alienating the masses of the people—those very people on whose suffrages, ultimately, will depend (humanly speaking) the continuance of the Church of England as established by law.

The real secret of success in the performance of our duty towards the working classes lies in our approaching them as fellow-men and fellow-Christians, without pride or prejudice, but with loving candour and genuine sympathy; to listen to their grievances, to understand their peculiar trials, to examine their statements with a firm resolution to support any just cause, and with unbiassed judgment to reject all unwarrantable pretensions.

If this is the proper disposition of mind and heart before actual intervention, what, in the next place, are the principles to guide us when brought into immediate relations with the working classes in our semi-social capacity?

This subject divides itself into three heads, as touching the body, heart, and mind—the material privations, the sentimental grievances, and the mental destitution of the labouring people.

1. With the growing wealth and industry of our age, and the increased indulgence among the rich in luxury and prodigality as a compensation for "life at high pressure" in the present day, we need not wonder that the labourers should be equally desirous of improving their temporal well-being, and so demanding a larger share in the enjoyments of life. The clergy are always ready, as in duty bound, to remind the working classes of their spiritual interests. There is a danger, however, of

seeming to discourage lawful desires after material improvement by laying too much stress on the comparative unimportance of a more complete enjoyment of the good things of this world. Unfortunately we do not always preach the same doctrine of voluntary abstinence to the rich, nor do we always practise it consistently in our own lives. But even if we did, and poor curates with large families did show an exemplary indifference to promotion, and clergymen with good livings and private means refused sometimes better appointments in favour of their poorer brethren (a case of very rare occurrence), even then it would still remain very doubtful how far they would be justified in discouraging yearnings after social improvement among the poor people.*

Those who know most about their squalid homes, their wretched fare, and inadequate means for the provision of ordinary comforts, not to mention the higher and more refined enjoyments of life, will not be rash in discouraging any effort towards ameliorating their present condition. At all events, "it is surely useful that the attention of people" who have much goods laid up for many years "should forcibly be arrested, and that they should be made to consider why it is that in the richest country of the world the condition of a large proportion

* Compare with this the following, extracted from a Socialist print:—
"The following are offenders against the law of Christ:—1. Possessors of knowledge, beautiful objects, or luxuries who do not share them with the poor. Owners of houses and parks, givers of dinners, who invite to the enjoyment of their best those only who can ask again. 2. Women who carelessly wear fine clothes, without having inquired into the possible cost in a sister's shame or death. Bargain-mongers who forget that some "cheap" things are too dear for "human" use. 3. Employers who take their profit and do not concern themselves to know how the employed live. Men who think that 5 per cent. is a law of God, and that the body He created to be a temple of His spirit can be fed, clothed, and recreated on a few shillings a week."

of the labouring classes is so bad that it can hardly be worse." *

To bring this matter before the more wealthy and influential members of their congregations is one of the duties of the clergy. We must, indeed, remind both the rich and poor in this eminently material age that the *summum bonum* does not consist in material enjoyment. On the other hand, there is no reason why abstinence should be encouraged as a virtue of the poor only. It is our duty rather to help the working classes in their endeavour to improve materially as being the first step towards doing so spiritually. There are many opportunities for thus providing secular means for the attainment of spiritual ends. The clergyman can, by means of establishing coal clubs, blanket clubs, clothing and benefit clubs, encourage the "savings of the people" in various ways. He can, moreover, help them in discouraging early and imprudent marriages, insobriety, and wasteful expenditure, and thus help, without being inquisitorial or hypercritical, towards improving the condition of the people as far as this depends on themselves. Where his influence can procure for them higher wages or a reduction of the hours of labour, there can be no question as to his duty to use it in that direction. For a due supply of corporeal wants will form a physical basis for a moral and spiritual superstructure. It is worth while noticing that our Lord in his compassion for the multitude miraculously fed them with loaves and fishes, whilst at the same time speaking to them about the "word of life." This, however, is not the same thing as holding out charitable doles for the purpose of filling our churches with worshippers.

* Mrs. Fawcett in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," *sub voce* "Communism."

2. In the next place, we would allude to the sentimental grievances or feelings of dissatisfaction with the position they occupy on the part of the working classes. With them it is not only a question of material enjoyment, but a question of social privileges, and the removal of remaining inequalities between employers and employed arising from the virtual dependence of the latter on the former. Here the Christian minister can fully exercise his mediatorial office, holding out the right hand of fellowship to rich and poor at the same time. Christianity from the first has been in favour of freedom, having been mainly instrumental in the removal of slavery and serfdom all over civilized Europe.

“All equal are within the Church’s gate,”

has been the maxim of Christianity from the first. The parable of Dives and Lazarus would seem to indicate the general tendency of Christ’s social teaching. And in this parable we do not discover any encouragement for those of his followers who, in their unappreciated zeal for the maintenance of social order, have too great a regard for the “sacredness of the money-bag” and the hallowed associations of “position.” Yet what are the facts?

It was said in an article on “Clericality,” in *Fraser’s Magazine* more than ten years ago, but the charge has been repeated often since, that although, as a rule, the clergyman and his family are kind and helping friends of the agricultural labourer, yet “when, for the first time, the labourers showed (in joining the Agricultural Union) some independence, some desire to help themselves, and to unite for the protection and advancement of their order, they were met on the part of the clergy almost universally by coldness, by discouragement, and even by obloquy.” *

* *Fraser’s Magazine*, October, 1877, p. 445.

So, too, Mr. Bright, in a well-known speech on ecclesiastical matters, delivered a few years ago, endeavoured to show "how largely indifferent to the aspirations of the people" the clergy are as a body in the present day.

There may be a great deal of truth in these charges. Some clergymen, in their readiness to act as a sort of spiritual police to keep the people in order, may forget at times that in so doing they act in plain contradiction to the principles laid down in their own creed, for Christianity is a religion of progress. To repress the onward movement of the working classes, instead of heading and so modifying its current, is to put obstacles in the way of the "ascent of man." Those who delight in it may have to share the usual fate of obstructive reactionists, as in the case of the Gallican clergy at the outbreak of the French Revolution.

Besides, we forget sometimes, in our anxiety to prevent an undue degree of levelling *down*, that the Christian scheme implies levelling *up*, in holding out high ideals to all, and so being conducive towards the moral and spiritual elevation of the many, and a gradual equalization of all, raised on a higher level.

In meeting the demands of the working classes on this head it is well to remember the words of Charles Kingsley: "The Church has three special possessions and treasures—the Bible, which proclaims man's freedom; Baptism, his equality; the Lord's Supper, his brotherhood."

3. In the last place we would say a word on the duty of the clergy towards the working classes in view of their appalling mental destitution. Special efforts have been made in the direction of popular education of late, more especially for the purpose of securing religious education

in primary schools. There can be no doubt as to the supreme importance of rescuing the rising generation from the mire of ignorance and mental inanity, which at all times presents an all but insurmountable obstacle to the spread of rational faith and intelligent religion. But other means of educating mind and heart are required in order to fit working people for a more refined enjoyment of the present life, as a preparation state for the next. Working men's clubs, museums, libraries, popular lectures, readings, debating societies, mutual improvement societies, schools of art, and other means of culture, ought to be brought within reach of the working man and encouraged by the clergy, so as to make the civilizing influences of the Church felt and appreciated.

There is still, however, another sort of mental improvement for which the clergyman is in a measure responsible, namely, the spread of correct ideas on social questions. In nine cases out of ten the people are led astray by false promises and incorrect statements of some of their leaders, as to the actual state and prospects of trades, and as to their own relative position and social status. They are rendered dissatisfied by demagogues, or remain in a state of chronic discontent because of their incorrect notions on the mutual relationship existing between the different sections of society, and because they are utterly ignorant of the leading principles of economics. The clergyman in his daily intercourse with the people can do much towards removing these misconceptions, and promoting a mutual understanding between the labourers and their employers. Clergymen will easily recollect the classical story of the Plebeians resorting to "Mons Sacer" in their social revolt against the Patricians, and how Menenius Agrippa taught them the mutual interdependence of all the members in the social organism.

So our modern Plebs ought to find some wise men in the Holy Mount of Zion ready and competent to take up the parable of conciliation.

To begin at the beginning, the rising generation might be taught in our national schools the most elementary lessons in social economics and money matters.* Their growing up with a sounder knowledge on such questions would secure them against the mischief arising from sheer ignorance of social economy. Perhaps it would be as well for the teachers themselves to become acquainted with some of the text-books of Political Economy before venturing upon the task here assigned them, and the Bishop of Derry, in the paper already alluded to, recommends the "Endowment of a Chair of Christian Sociology" in our theological colleges.

The adults can only be influenced by way of sympathetic intercourse and judicious advice administered by the clergyman in the course of his pastoral visits. He ought, on this account, to be acquainted with social questions to the same extent at least as he is on politics, so as to give weight to his opinions, and to gain a respectful hearing from those whom he tries to influence. With a view to this at least, a few lectures on economic and social questions to men reading for holy orders at the universities and theological colleges might be strongly recommended.

* The writer here speaks from experience. After several years' teaching, as curate, some of the higher classes in one or two National schools of his parish from Archbishop Whately's little book on "Money Matters," he found upon examination for the prizes offered at the close of the year a very striking amount of proficiency attained by boys and girls from eleven to thirteen years of age. At the same time, the teacher ought not to depend entirely on the lessons of this little book, but correct them from other manuals, such as the "Primer on Political Economy," by Professor Jevons, and the "Economics of Industry," by A. and M. Marshall.

In the present emergency, when—

“The old order changeth, yielding place to new,”

when other religious bodies are rising with the occasion, is the Church of England, the Church of the people, alone to lose her hold on the working classes from any want of sympathy with popular aspirations?

“Is not God himself,” as some one said at the Church Congress of 1873, “calling this Church of ours, which has so unique a position in the world, with its animating historical traditions, with its every fibre twisted into the complex interests of a great people, to disown the ignoble task of bolstering up the privileges of the fortunate, and to claim the honour of a generous unworldliness, the sacred right of sympathy with the poor and the weak?”

These are serious questions for clergymen to consider. On the answer to such questions will depend in a great measure the future usefulness and the ultimate fate of the Church of England as an established Church.

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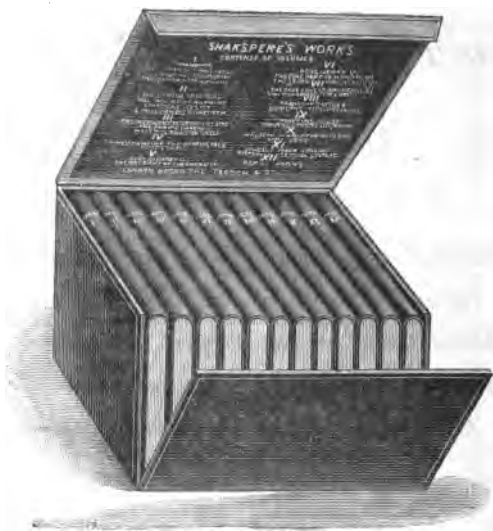
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Salar. My wind, cooling my broth,
Would blow me to an ague, when I thought
What harm a wind too great might do at sea.
I should not see the sandy hour-glass run
But I should think of shallows and of flats,
And see my wealthy Andrew, dock'd in sand,
Vailing her high-top lower than her ribs
To kiss her burial. Should I go to church
And see the holy edifice of stone,
And not bethink me straight of dangerous rocks,
Which touching but my gentle vessel's side,
Would scatter all her spices on the stream,
Enrobe the roaring waters with my silks,
And, in a word, but even now worth this,
And now worth nothing? Shall I have the thought
To think on this, and shall I lack the thought
That such a thing bechanc'd would make me sad?
But tell not me: I know Antonio
Is sad to think upon his merchandise.

Ant. Believe me, no: I thank my fortune for it,
My ventures are not in one bottom trusted,
Nor to one place; nor is my whole estate
Upon the fortune of this present year:
Therefore my merchandise makes me not sad.

Salar. Why, then you are in love.

Ant. Fie, fie!

Salar. Not in love neither? Then let us say you
are sad,

Because you are not merry; and 'twere as easy
For you to laugh, and leap, and say you are merry,
Because you are not sad. Now, by two-headed
Janus,

Nature hath fram'd strange fellows in her time:
Some that will evermore peep through their eyes
And laugh like parrots at a bag-piper;
And other of such vinegar aspect

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